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Editorial

As we complete our twelfth year of publication, *Issues in Applied Linguistics* continues its commitment to presenting new approaches and perspectives on issues that constitute our field. In this spirit, the two authors whose work is featured in this issue use both quantitative and qualitative approaches to examine written varieties of language from new perspectives.

Eli Hinkel analyzes a phenomenon well known to composition teachers: the extensive use of personal examples and stories in the academic essays of students who are nonnative speakers of English. Drawing upon a large database of college examination essays, Hinkel compares the use of personal examples in essays written by both native and nonnative speakers of English and finds that not only do nonnative students use personal examples more often than their native-speaking counterparts, they use them in different ways. Whereas native-speaker students commonly use personal examples as a basis from which they draw generalizations and connect these personal examples to larger issues, Hinkel finds that nonnative students tend to rely on personal examples as the primary, if not the sole, evidence for their arguments. She traces this heavy reliance on personal examples to two sources: to the use of personal examples as evidence in many non-Anglo-American rhetorical traditions and to English composition pedagogy, which encourages the use of personal examples as evidence, despite their rarity in Anglo-American academic writing. Based on this study, Hinkel urges a rethinking of the way in which writing is taught to ESL and EFL students.

Jolanta Aritz examines writing in a language which has received little scholarly attention in the West: Lithuanian, and, in particular, the variety of Lithuanian used by the Lithuanian immigrant community in the United States. In a qualitative study that uses articles from both Lithuanian and American Lithuanian newspapers, Aritz examines how the written American variety differs from native norms in aspects such as the lack of use of non-SVO word orders and relatively heavy use of pronouns in place of full noun phrases. Aritz further demonstrates how written American Lithuanian resembles the spoken register of both American and native Lithuanian. She proposes that the similarity between the written and spoken registers in the American variety is a result of the relatively small size and cohesiveness of the American Lithuanian community and the correspondingly limited social scope of the language, which obviates the need for the more "elaborated code" of the written register of the native variety.

In addition to the above articles, we are pleased and honored to present an interview with Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, who will retire at the end of the academic year after a 25-year career in the Department of Applied Linguistics and TESL at UCLA. In addition to being an inspiration and mentor to the dozens of students who have passed through our department in the past quarter century, Pro-

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fessor Celce-Murcia has made major contributions in the areas of functional grammar and second language pedagogy through her numerous publications, including the influential text, *The Grammar Book*, written in conjunction with Dr. Diane Larsen-Freeman. As a charter subscriber, advisor, reviewer, and contributor, Professor Celce-Murcia has been a constant resource for *Issues in Applied Linguistics*. In a wide-ranging interview, Professor Celce-Murcia discusses her academic career as well as the development of the UCLA Department of Applied Linguistics and TESL and the field of TESOL in general. She also offers her views of the issues facing the field today, in particular the need to "bridge the gap" between research and pedagogy in the field of language teaching—a challenge which has informed much of her own work over the years.

Finally, this issue marks our first as the new editors of *IAL*. We would like to express our appreciation to the previous editors, Kathy Howard, David Olsher, and Leah Wingard, for their efforts and for handing us the journal in such good shape. We also would like to welcome the new members of our editorial staff: production editor Chris Koenig, treasurer Brent Green, and assistant managing editor Priya Abeywickrama. They join with *IAL* veterans—book review editors Stefan Frazier and Mikyung Kim and managing editor Viphavee Vongpumivitch—as we move towards our thirteenth year of publication and build upon the fine work of our predecessors.

December 2001

Debra Friedman
Emmy Goldknopf

Giving Personal Examples and Telling Stories in Academic Essays

Eli Hinkel
Seattle University

To help ESL writing teachers and curriculum designers focus instruction on appropriate exemplification in academic prose, this paper examines the frequency of overt example markers and particular types of examples provided in native speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) academic essays. To this end, the analysis compares frequency rates of example markers, first and third person pronouns, and the occurrences of past tense verbs in over 1,000 university placement essays of NS and advanced and matriculated NNS students. The results of the study demonstrate that NNS texts employ these features at significantly higher rates than NS texts. The findings further show that NNS students rely primarily on recounts of past personal experiences, incorporated as examples with the purpose of supporting the essay thesis. The preponderance of personal examples in NNS texts shows that many NNSs transfer from L1 to L2 rhetorical paradigms of constructing evidence in formal written text. However, an additional issue arises in light of the fact that current methodologies for the teaching of writing and composition encourage personal narratives as a means of providing evidence and proof for a thesis, even though personal examples are rarely considered to be appropriate in academic discourse in disciplines outside the teaching of writing. Due to the similarity of approaches to providing evidence and proof in non-Anglo-American rhetorical traditions and current methods for teaching writing, it appears that writing pedagogy may actually compound the effects of L1 to L2 transfer of rhetorical paradigms identified in NNS texts.

In L2 instruction on academic writing, giving examples to explain or elaborate on a particular point is often viewed as a desirable practice. Providing examples allows writers an opportunity to clarify and support their positions in various types of argumentative prose or supply detailed information in expository texts to enhance textual clarity. A vast majority of current L2 instructional texts encourage writers to exemplify their points and provide examples of the type of examples students should use. In most textbooks on academic writing, examples, among other types of rhetorical evidence, are described as a common means of supporting the writer's position in argumentative academic prose, such as essays or research papers. For instance, Holten and Marasco (1998), Raimes (1999), Reid (2000), and Smoke (1999) indicate that providing contextually relevant examples and illustrations represents a reasonable and valid means of thesis support in explaining one's position on an issue. Smalley and Ruetten (2000) elaborate on the number of examples in an essay ("three or four extended examples [illustrations]" [p. 137]) as well as the types of examples appropriate in an academic text ("representative examples, examples that fairly support the thesis" [p. 140]).

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Experts on teaching L2 academic writing consistently point out that the examples employed in written academic discourse need to be representative of general points and ideas discussed in support of the writer's thesis. The types of examples included as supporting illustrations also need to be varied and to rely on materials such as pertinent facts, statistics, descriptive details, and elaborate explanations (Raimes, 1999; Smalley & Ruetten, 2000). Practically all instructional texts supply samples of appropriate examples that can be used as evidence in academic prose and argumentation discourse. Although giving examples is a common explanatory and thesis support strategy in constructing persuasive text in English, in reality college-level L2 writers rarely employ this strategy successfully and in accordance with the guidelines identified in L2 composition instruction (Dong, 1998; Hvitfeldt, 1992). In fact, in many cases, the strategy is counterproductive and leads to nonnative speakers' (NNSs) composing L2 texts that seem to be particularly un-academic with high frequencies of discourse and text features incongruous with common characteristics of written academic discourse in English (Ferris & Hedgcock, 1998; Johns, 1991, 1997; Jordan, 1997).

This paper examines the frequency of overt and marked examples and the types of examples provided in NS and NNS academic essays. The study is based on an analysis of a large corpus of L1 and L2 student academic texts (1,087 essays/ 327,802 words) and compares NS and NNS frequency rates of exemplification markers, first person pronouns, and occurrences of the past tense in examples and illustrative stories intended to support the writer's position in argumentation essays. The findings of this study are intended to help ESL writing teachers and curriculum designers focus instruction on appropriate exemplification of points and ideas in academic prose.

COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF ACADEMIC GENRE AND EXEMPLIFICATION IN ENGLISH

Much research on written academic discourse and text that has been carried out since the 1960s points to a good deal of variability in feature uses across different academic genres. It may be difficult to claim that uses of text features in student essays or papers display many similarities to those in published academic articles. However, surveys of student written assignments in university courses carried out in the 1980s and 1990s show that specific types of writing tasks expected even of undergraduate students are not particularly distinct from many other academic subgenres, for example, critiques, proposals, summaries, and position-based argumentation assignments based on course content (English, 1999; Horowitz, 1986a; Johns, 1981, 1997; Ostler, 1980). In addition to such out-of-class assignments, investigations of student academic writing tasks at both undergraduate and graduate levels find that most academic courses include in-class essay tests and exams (Horowitz, 1986b; Jordan, 1997). The most comprehensive study to date of writing tasks in academic degree programs was carried out by the Educational

Testing Service (Hale et al., 1996) in eight large universities in the U.S. and Canada, and the results demonstrate that 82% of all undergraduate and 40% of graduate courses in social sciences and humanities require in-class essays ranging in length from short answer writing tasks to five pages. In physical sciences and engineering, 26% of undergraduate courses also require in-class writing, as do 59% of those taught in English departments.

Johns (1997) emphasizes that prompt-based in-class essay exams and tests in the disciplines are "a ubiquitous pedagogical genre" (p. 93). According to Johns, essay tests, similar to other academic writing tasks, necessitate students' familiarity with the written discourse and text conventions expected in practically all academic genres. Although research has identified differences in the contents of out-of-class written assignments and in-class essay tests (Horowitz, 1991; Johns, 1997), student in-class essays, whether content-based or content-free, are evaluated based on common characteristics of academic discourse and text features: logical organizational structure, relevance of arguments to the essay's main point(s), the prominence of main ideas that are clearly stated, effective supporting material, and appropriate uses of academic vocabulary and grammar (Connelly, 2000; Ferris & Hedgcock, 1998; Hamp-Lyons, 1991; Johns, 1991, 1997; Kennedy, Kennedy, & Holladay, 1993; Ostler, 1980). Johns (1997) calls these "recurring features" (p. 27) of the academic genre and text; that is, "formal features of text in this genre do not appear to vary considerably from class to class, nor ... have the genre requirements varied much since the mid-1980s" (p. 29).

Research into academic text, however, identifies examples as relatively rare: Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, and Finegan's (1999) analysis of large corpora of written academic text identified only approximately 900 overt exemplification markers (*e.g./eg, for example,* and *for instance*) per one million words (0.09%). Personal examples are rarer still (Swales & Feak, 1994), as evinced by a reduced use of first person pronouns in academic prose, that is, 0.6% of all words in the corpus (Biber et al.). In fact, Swales' (1990) analysis of written academic genre found that academic texts are often expected to project objectivity in presenting information and depersonalize text by various lexical and syntactic means. Citing Bizzell (1982), Swales argues that the teaching of writing and "student writing in colleges and universities should not be viewed as an individually-oriented, inner-directed cognitive process" (p. 4), but as tasks in discourse and text construction within the conventions of communicating knowledge within the norms of the academic community. According to Bizzell, teachers of L2 writing need to prepare students to write in the disciplines because academic writing is a socially-situated act that extends far beyond the writer's analysis of his or her inner explorations and thoughts. Echoing these observations made fifteen years earlier, Jordan (1997) calls for explicit teaching of features of formal and academic discourse and text, and stresses that personal pronouns, personal tone, and personal references should be avoided. In this sense, giving personal examples in the context of academic prose may seem to be especially out of place.

In particular, Hyland's (1999) extensive study of academic text in general and persuasive academic discourse in particular shows that social and linguistic conventions of argumentation are highly depersonalized with slight variations, depending on the discipline. According to his findings based on a large corpus of academic texts, the prose in philosophy included the highest rates of first person pronouns of 6.5 per 1,000 words (0.65%), followed by texts in marketing and applied linguistics with 6.2 (0.62%) and 4.8 (0.48%) occurrences per 1,000 words, respectively. Although in Hyland's analyses and in the other research findings examined below, uses of first person pronouns in formal academic prose do not always mark personal examples, the comparative rarity of these features in academic text evinces scarcity of personal references overall.

EXAMPLES IN WRITTEN DISCOURSE IN NON-ANGLO-AMERICAN RHETORICAL TRADITIONS

Evidential information in support of the writer's position (but not necessarily the writer's thesis) is expected in many rhetorical traditions other than Anglo-American. In his detailed overview of the rhetorical structure of Chinese formal prose, Kirkpatrick (1997) identifies several established paradigms, such as the four-part *qi-cheng-zhuan-he*, *ba gu wen* (the classical eight-legged essay), and other more contemporary discourse and text essay structures. He specifies that all essay paradigms are expected to contain reasoning, elements of argumentation, and "the proof or the evidence" (p. 241). The organization of the discourse can follow two basic types of reasoning—"inductive, which proceeds from example(s) to a conclusion, and deductive, which proceeds from 'the truth' or conclusion to the examples" (p. 241). Hence, according to Kirkpatrick, in formal written prose, examples actually represent the evidence or proof in support of the general "truth" at the beginning or at the end of the essay.

Maynard's (1998) analysis of the discourse structure in Japanese formal written prose also identifies several similar rhetorical patterns of idea organization. Essays can be constructed along the three-, five-, or four-part organization formats, which are typically inductive. All essay patterns include topic hierarchies with the topic (but not necessarily the thesis) stated at the beginning, followed by descriptions of subtopics and topic development, and finally the general conclusion. According to Maynard, the topic and subtopics require the writer to provide evidence for the validity of his or her position, and the evidence takes the form of concrete examples. Furthermore, examples can also be employed in support of definitions, explanations, problem statements, or as "data leading to evidence" (p. 55). The author specifies that examples comprising a clear and "explicit presentation of thoughts" (p. 60) are the key for the rhetorical organization of formal written discourse even at the high school level of writing instruction in Japanese. Because in writing the purpose is to explain the writer's own thoughts and opinions, the examples provided in evidence of the topic can be derived from the writer's

personal experiences, observations, or narrative to explain his or her point of view.

Similar to Chinese and Japanese rhetorical constructs of the necessary evidence for the essay's main topic, in Vietnamese persuasive writing, exemplification is intended to provide the basis for the validity of the writer's purpose. In his analysis of the discourse paradigms in Vietnamese, Nguyen (1987) observes that traditional Vietnamese discourse construction follows that adopted in the Chinese rhetorical tradition. The author reports that according to many sources, the philosophical and educational ties between Vietnam and China were so strong that for centuries the Vietnamese considered themselves to be a part of the Chinese school of thought and the classical rhetorical tradition. In their study of Vietnamese students in U.S. universities, Murray and Nichols (1992) found that successful university-level writers personalized the contexts of their essays and felt free to discuss their experiences in academic texts.

Personalized references to the writer's own feelings and thoughts are also considered to be common and acceptable in formal written discourse in other rhetorical traditions, such as Malay and Indonesian, which are similar in many respects (Prentice, 1987). Hvitfeldt (1992) reports that her Malay students often included lengthy accounts of personal conversations and anecdotes in formal essays and research papers. She further notes that for many writers, the idea of truth results from everyday experience, and personal examples can be just as valid as the information obtained from literary sources. Hvitfeldt comments that ESL students from Japan, China, and Korea demonstrate greater personal involvement with examples and text through the use of first person references and more references to the writer's experiences. According to her findings, NNS students often rely on less academically oriented forms of argumentation support when they are not familiar with or do not know how to use the conventional academic forms.

In her examination of ESL students' academic texts in English at the university level, Dong (1998) similarly found that Chinese and Korean speakers frequently transfer strategies for rhetorical proof in academic discourse from L1 discourse paradigms. She explains that providing various types of examples as evidence in academic prose is not only a prevalent strategy for supporting the thesis, but also a means of establishing rapport with the reader to create common ground and solidarity with the goal of persuasion. According to her students' accounts of how to construct academic discourse in their L1s and in English, examples are appropriate in both discourse traditions: "a piece of good writing often has main ideas and details by using examples" (Dong, cited student text, p. 97). However, Dong indicates that Chinese and Korean university students reported confusion regarding the types of examples that could be used in academic prose in English.

EXAMPLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS IN WRITING INSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH

Many strategies adopted in the teaching of L2 writing to nonnative speakers (NNSs) are derived from those developed for the writing instruction of native speak-

ers (NSs). In the late 1970s and 1980s, several influential studies were published that advocated the applicability to L2 writing pedagogy of teaching methodologies created for teaching L1 writing to NSs (Spack & Sadow, 1983; Zamel, 1982). For instance, Zamel's (1983) paper claimed that "ESL writers, like their native language counterparts, experience writing as a process of creating meaning," explore their ideas and thoughts on paper, "discovering in the act of doing so not only what these thoughts are, but also the form with which best to express them" (p. 168). However, Zamel's research on the similarities between L1 writing processes of NSs and L2 composing strategies of NNSs was based on her findings dealing with self-reports of only six students, who were speakers of five different languages. In subsequent studies, other methodologists for teaching L1 writing to NSs also found appealing the idea of employing L1 writing pedagogy to NNSs (Reid, 1993; Spack, 1988) because it had intuitive validity and was grounded in the research of the full-fledged discipline of composition and rhetoric, based on studies developed, however, for a different type of population.

The prevalent writing instruction methodology for NSs places a great deal of importance on self-expression, self-exploration, discovery of personal meaning, and experiential prose (Connelly, 2000; Spack, 1988; Zamel, 1983) within the contexts of academic tasks. According to the instructional approaches for teaching L1 writing to NSs, giving extended examples, including those from personal experiences, as support for the thesis is considered to be a common technique noted in many writing guides and instructional texts (Beason & Lester, 2000; Hacker, 1994; Kennedy, Kennedy, & Holladay, 1993; Lunsford & Connors, 1997). Hacker (2000) states "examples, perhaps the most common pattern of development, are appropriate whenever the reader might be tempted to ask, 'For example?'" (p. 40). According to Hacker, "illustrations are extended examples, frequently presented in story form.... When well selected, however, they can be a vivid and effective means of developing a point" (p. 40). Similarly, Beason and Lester (2000) indicate that to explain their ideas clearly in writing and to address the expectations of the audience, writers should answer the following questions in their compositions: "What could I say about my own experiences with this subject that would also matter to my readers? What would interest them because they have had similar experiences they could relate to mine?" (p. 394).

Although personal narratives are certainly not considered requisite in argumentative or expository essays, some university-level textbooks for academic writing strongly advocate providing personal examples as evidence in supporting the thesis. For instance, Connelly (2000) explains several advantages of using personal observations and experiences as evidential information: "like personal observations, accounts of your own life can be convincing support" (pp. 80-81). He also highlights the advantages of including personal stories and experiences in academic texts and states that "personal experiences can be emotionally powerful and commanding because the writer is the sole authority and expert. ... Individual accounts can humanize abstract issues and personalize objective facts and statistics" (pp. 80-81).

However, as noted above, numerous studies of formal academic text outside of writing and composition instruction have demonstrated that personal examples are difficult to find. As Johns (1997) notes, little has changed in the formal features of written discourse and text in academic genre since the mid-1980s. It is also interesting to note that some student textbooks published prior to or in the early days of the process-based pedagogy for teaching academic text production which are still in print (Arnaudet & Barrett, 1984/1990; Weissberg & Buker, 1990) actually advise against using personal examples.

Thus, following the methodology for teaching L1 writing to NSs, L2 writing pedagogy instructs students in colleges and universities that the use of personal examples and illustrative stories (Hacker, 2000) represents an acceptable means of supporting the writer's position in argumentation and exposition texts. However, because most NSs have far greater (native) language proficiency in English than most NNSs (however advanced), NS students' familiarity with academic discourse and text conventions may similarly greatly exceed that of NNSs with higher academic standing. Specifically, novice NS writers in colleges and universities have had a far lengthier and linguistically more advanced exposure to academic discourse and language uses in texts. For this reason, NS uses of examples and extended illustrative stories may demonstrate the conventions of academic text differently than those identified in NNS academic texts.

That is, NS and NNS writers in the academy may understand the place, purpose, and extent of personal examples differently. In this case, the acceptability of personal examples and experiences advocated in process-based writing instruction exacerbates the L1 to L2 transfer of rhetorical strategies that are not necessarily appropriate in Anglo-American academic written discourse and text.

THE STUDY

This study examines the ways in which speakers of such languages as English, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indonesian, and Vietnamese employ examples and illustrations in their academic essays in English. In particular, the study focuses on the frequency rates of overt exemplification markers in essay texts, listed in full, (*as*) *an example, for example, for instance, in* (*my/our/his /her/their*) *example, like, mainly, namely, such as ..., that is* (*to say*). Biber's (1988) and Biber et al.'s (1999) examinations of spoken and written corpora point to the fact that exemplification is far more common in speech than in formal written text. While most marked examples include whole clauses and even short descriptions, those marked by, for instance, *mainly, namely,* or *such as* can be as short as appositive noun or adjective phrases (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1985). Many composition and writing textbooks recommend that examples be used when writers need to convey their ideas clearly and explicitly or when they believe that the audience would not be familiar with the events, activities, or concepts discussed in the text (Hacker, 2000; Raimes, 1999; Smoke, 1999).

To investigate the types of examples employed in student essays, the uses of all forms of first and third person pronouns (including singular, plural, subjective, and objective) and the occurrences of the past tense are also examined. Biber's (1988, 1995) analyses of large English-language corpora indicate that first person pronouns serve as markers of interpersonal discourse and direct involvement of the writer, and they are usually more characteristic of spoken rather than written registers.[1] Biber's investigations also identify third person singular and plural pronouns as markers of imprecise reference to persons and objects removed from the writer's immediate view. In academic writing instruction, the use of third person singular and plural pronouns is considered to be advisable because they impart formality and objectivity to academic prose (Hacker, 1994; Smoke, 1999). According to Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Quirk et al. (1985), first and third person pronouns are common in expository prose and in past tense narratives that recount experiences or activities.

In various academic genres, the past tense is used in discussions of observations and methods, in study results and conclusions (Swales & Feak, 1994), as well as in examinations of academic work and events from a historical perspective (Swales, 1990). However, none of the past tense uses in student placement essays were associated with such discourse segments.

By means of the analysis of exemplification markers, first and third person pronouns, and past tense occurrences together, the study attempts to determine whether NS and NNS students provided similar types of examples and illustrations to support their thesis statements in argumentation or exposition essays that are commonly required in placement and diagnostic tests.

The Students

The essays were written by 1,087 students during placement and diagnostic tests, administered to NS and NNS students alike in four U.S. universities. All students were admitted to degree programs and were enrolled in mainstream classes. All students were given 50 minutes, that is, one class period, to write the essays.

The NNSs had achieved a relatively high level of English language proficiency, and their TOEFL scores ranged from 520 to 603, with a mean of 577. Of the NNS students, 78% were holders of U.S. associate degrees earned in various community colleges and were admitted as transfers at the junior level in four-year comprehensive universities. These individuals had received at least three years of ESL and composition instruction in the U.S., as they had completed at least a year in academic intensive programs, followed by two years of community college training. Of the remaining students, 16% were first-year students and 6% graduate students. All first-year students were graduates of U.S. high schools, and the majority had spent at least three years in the U.S. The graduate students had similarly completed their ESL studies in U.S. EAP programs and had resided in English-speaking environments for periods between 18 and 29 months.

The essays analyzed in the study were written by 881 NNS students. They included: 190 speakers of Chinese, 184 speakers of Japanese, 166 speakers of Korean, 158 speakers of Vietnamese, and 183 speakers of Indonesian. The 206 NS students in the study were enrolled in required first-year composition classes and included graduates of U.S. suburban high schools in three states on the east and west coasts and the Midwest.

THE DATA

The essays were written in response to one of five prompts:

(1) Some people believe that when parents make their children's lives too easy, they can actually harm their children instead. Explain your views on this issue. Use detailed reasons and examples.

(2) Many people believe that grades do not encourage learning. Do you agree or disagree with this opinion? Be sure to explain your answer using specific reasons and examples.

(3) Some people learn best when a classroom lesson is presented in a serious, formal manner. Others prefer a lesson that is enjoyable and entertaining. Explain your views on this issue. Use detailed reasons and examples.

(4) Many educators believe that parents should help to form their children's opinions. Others feel that children should be allowed to develop their own opinions. Explain your views on this issue. Use detailed reasons and examples.

(5) Some people choose their major field of study based on their personal interests and are less concerned about future employment possibilities. Others choose majors in fields with a large number of jobs and options for employment. What position do you support? Use detailed reasons and examples.

Of the total, 216 essays were written on Prompt (1), 208 on Prompt (2), 215 on Prompt (3), 219 on Prompt (4), and 229 on Prompt (5). The distribution of essays among the five prompts was proximate for all students, as presented in Table 1.

Data Analysis

To determine whether NS and NNS students similarly employed exemplification markers, first and third person pronouns, and past tense verbs, the number of words in each of the 1,087 essays was counted, followed by a count of the occurrences of each of the markers, pronouns, and tenses. For example, NS essay #1 for Prompt 1 consisted of 250 words and included one exemplification marker (*for example*). To determine the percentage rate of exemplification markers used in the essay, a computation was performed, (i.e., 1/250 = 0.4%) and then repeated for 30 occurrences of first person pronouns (30/250 = 12%). The computations were performed separately for exemplification markers, first person pronouns, third person pronouns, and the past tense verbs in each of the NS and NNS essays.

Because the number of essays written to each prompt by each L1 group of

Table 1:
Distribution of Student Essays by Prompt

L1 Group	Prompt 1 Parents	Prompt 2 Grades	Prompt 3 Manner	Prompt 4 Opinions	Prompt 5 Major
NSs	44	36	40	47	39
Chinese	39	39	39	34	39
Japanese	32	35	34	41	42
Korean	32	33	33	32	36
Indonesian	35	35	37	35	41
Vietnamese	34	30	32	30	32
TOTAL	216	208	215	219	229

students was proximate, the analysis of example uses in students' texts was carried out based on pooled data for all essays combined. Non-parametric statistical comparisons of the NS and NNS data were employed because the majority of the percentage rates were not normally distributed. The Mann-Whitney U Test was selected as a conservative measure of differences between the NS and NNS data. The Mann-Whitney U Test compares two sets of data based on their ranks below and above the median (e.g., NS percentage rates of first person pronouns in essays written to the same prompt and those of Chinese speakers, then those of NSs and Japanese speakers, then NSs and Korean speakers, etc.).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The medians, ranges, and results of statistical tests for exemplification markers, first and third person pronouns, and past tense verbs are presented in Table 2. The analysis of the exemplification data from student essays shows that NNSs employed far more example markers, first person pronouns, and past tense verbs in their academic texts than NSs did.

Exemplification Markers

These data demonstrate that, regardless of their L1s, NNS students employed example markers at rates more than twice those of NS writers in their essays. In fact, as is also apparent from range values, in some essays of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean speakers, nearly 3% of all words marked examples.

Table 2
Median Frequency Rates for Exemplification, Pronouns, and Past Tense Verbs in NS and NNS Academic Essays (%)

Markers/L1s	NSs	CH	JP	KR	VT	IN
Example markers	0.21	0.50**	0.49**	0.51**	0.51**	0.57**
Range	2.08	3.03	2.86	2.86	2.70	2.78
First person pronouns	2.29	3.41*	4.57**	3.49*	3.26*	3.68*
Range	15.41	17.65	20.59	13.68	21.76	18.21
Third person pronouns	4.03	4.89*	4.57	4.35	4.62	5.25*
Range	18.75	24.34	19.08	19.05	19.00	17.26
Past tense verbs	1.74	3.21**	3.52**	4.55**	2.78*	2.89*
Range	11.88	16.67	13.02	11.82	10.71	11.46

** 2-tailed $p < 0.05$
* 1-tailed $p < 0.05$

In NS and NNS academic essays, the extent of examples in many cases determines the type of text that students compose: In many cases, lengthy personal narratives included as examples can actually comprise the entire essay. Academic essays are often expected to include a thesis statement and specific supporting arguments, such as facts, examples and illustrations, expert opinions, and valid, reasoned generalizations (Hacker, 1994). Axelrod and Cooper (1996) note that examples should be chosen with care to be representative, specific, and relevant because in argumentation essays their purpose is to "lead readers to accept the general claim" advanced in the essay (p. 223). Kennedy, Kennedy, and Holladay (1993) specifically address "writing competency exams" and dealing with writing tasks in which writers have little choice of topics. They explain that writers need to include "logical argument and solid evidence," without "being vague or general" but "personal" to describe "something you have observed or experienced" (p. 287).

Following the approach adopted in L1 and L2 writing instruction of presenting examples, both NSs and NNSs included them in their texts. For example,

> (1) For me, <u>for example</u>, I prefer a class which is more enjoyable and more interesting because I won't fall asleep, feel nervous, and the class will be more

> lively. ... I feel nervous when I take a serious, formal class. For instance, I had a quiz every day in class, and the teacher was very strict. I started to feel nervous and started to get a headache every time when we had a quiz. So, my mother gave me medicine for my headache but it didn't help. My friends also didn't like the serious class with all the quizzes. (Chinese)

In (1), the writer attempts to present herself as a typical (representative) student and refers to her preference for an enjoyable class as an example. Then when she begins to explain why she feels nervous when taking a formal class, she marks her narrative with *for instance*, thus creating an example within an example structure. Other writers included detailed accounts in their examples:

> (2) For example, I had an experience which made my classroom effort up to very high. I was not doing well in my sophomore class. I liked to study history a lot, but I did not make a lot of effort in the classroom because the lesson was always in a formal manner and the class was always quiet. However, in my next history classroom, I started to get better grades and I enjoyed the class a lot because it was very exciting and enjoyable. The teacher told us many interesting stories and showed movies about history. Students really liked this teacher in my next class. Most of all, students liked the movies because they were a lot of fun. (Korean)

In (2), the personal narrative, marked as an example, serves as a support for the thesis that enjoyable classes are preferable to the serious and formal classes when at the end of the narrative the writer generalizes from her own experience to that of other students in the class. In this way, the writer creates a discourse structure that Maynard (1998) called "data leading to evidence" that extends beyond the student's personal experience and is applicable to other students.

On the other hand, NSs presented more examples of specific issues associated with the topic and fewer personal narratives than NNSs did:

> (3) For example, the assignment of writing an essay is definitely a task that should be taken seriously. The act of writing the essay may seem difficult or even boring. How a person perceives the topic of the essay and the ideas they use is what can make writing the essay enjoyable. (NS)

In this text, the writer exemplifies a point she is making regarding a writing assignment instead of providing a personal experience with a writing task. When NSs included personal examples in their essays, the narratives were comparatively short:

> (4) For instance, my senior math class had both sides. The teacher would open up with a class discussion on the homework from the previous night and then follow with an explanation of the day's assignment. I found this to be a particularly good balance, and it has been the best method a teacher has used in class for instructional purposes, as if a compromise of the two sides. (NS)

The text in (4) describes a personal experience, but it does not come in the form of a narrative. Rather, it briefly mentions the main point of the example and provides a statement that refers back to the topic.

First and Third Person Pronouns

Further evidence that NNSs in all L1 groups relied on personal firsthand experiences in supporting their argumentation positions is clearly apparent from the significantly higher median rates of first person pronouns in L2 texts than in those written by NSs. In fact, in some texts of Japanese and Vietnamese speakers, first-person stories and narratives represented large portions (if not most) of their academic essays: Over 20% of all words in their essays consisted of first person pronouns. Excerpts (5) and (6) below were selected from those written to the same Prompt 1 (see above), and both include first person experiences as examples. Excerpt (5) is written by a NNS and (6) by a NS:

> (5) I can answer this issue because I was raised this way, and my life is a good example. My parents always helped me and I didn't have to think a lot of things. They decide what I am going to do. They totally controlled me and I didn't care about it. But one day I was sent to an American high school by myself without having any idea what I was going to face. For example, I didn't know how to cook. I didn't know how to do laundry or how to study. I could get over those problems but I still have a problem which is I can't decide what I want for myself. I have never decided by myself about my life. Until my parents tell me to do something, I don't do anything because I don't know what to do. For instance, the other day, my mom told me to be a psychologist so I thought I was going to major in that, but my dad told me to be a doctor, so I changed my mind. I thought I was going to major in pre-med. I don't know what I want to be or what I want to major in. My friend told me it happens because my parents control me. ...For example, homework or other works which children are supposed to do by themselves but they ask their parents to do. They don't learn anything. (Japanese)

Excerpt (5), in fact, contains several intertwined personal recounts and only indirectly alludes to the issue of whether parents should or should not make their children's lives too easy. That is, the NNS writer in (5) did not provide an explicit connection between her past-time narrative and the issue raised in the prompt.

On the other hand, in many cases, personal accounts as examples in NS texts, as in (6), included generalizable personal situations to support the thesis. As has been mentioned, however, NSs and NNSs may have different interpretations of how to employ personal examples in support of their thesis in written discourse because NSs have far greater familiarity with academic conventions than NNSs even with higher academic standing.

> (6) For example, in my own experiences, my parents provide for everything and anything I need, and most of the time what I want. They teach me what it means to be responsible. I don't ask for much from them, but when I do, they try to give that to me. My parents make my life very easy, but it has, in no way, affected or harmed my life. (NS)

In (6), unlike (5), the NS student generalized from her experience by means of present-tense constructions and connected her explanation to the topic at hand. Furthermore, it is important to note that NS and NNS accounts of experiences substantially differed in length.

Third person examples and generalizations were employed at similar rates in the essays of NSs and Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese speakers, but the Chinese and Indonesian speakers' texts included them at significantly higher rates. It is important to note, however, that generalizations and third person narratives occupied a prominent place in the essays of NS and NNS students alike: Fully one fifth to one third of all words in most student texts consisted of third person pronouns. In the essays of Chinese students, the range alone represents 24%. Excerpts (7), (8), and (9) are selected from essays on the same Prompt 5, with (7) written by a NNS student and (8-9) by NS students:

> (7) Here is an example. I know a Chinese journalist who selected biochemistry as her major because her parents thought it's easy to find a job for students majoring in that field. She spent 12 years getting her Ph.D. in this field. But after she got it, she suddenly realized that she made a big error. She had no interest in biochemistry. So, she determined to give up everything she got through 12 years' hard studying and transferred to journalism, which her interest lies in. (Chinese)

On the other hand, NS third-person examples included expanded subtopic argumentation points rather than stories as thesis support.

> (8) For example, a biology major does not necessarily have to love to study plants or animals. A biology degree can lead to so many different careers. With a biology degree one can go on to be a doctor, teacher, veterinarian, or an environmentalist. It's up to the student to find a way to make his personal interest a part of his career. (NS)

> (9) For example, if one is sincerely interested in their job, more dedicated work is shown in all they do. They actually care about what they are doing at work and the effect it will have on others. Examples of such situations can be seen at many levels, from the President of the United States to the person who scrubs the floors at a fast food restaurant. (NS)

Excerpts (7) and (8, 9) present third-person accounts that display distinct interpretations of the purpose and types of exemplification in academic text. While (7)

recounts an experience of the writer's friend who changed careers, the text in (8) exemplifies a specific case in choices of careers without personal examples.

Past-tense Verbs

The fact that NNS students employed past-time narratives as a means of supporting their argumentation in academic texts becomes particularly clear in the significant divergences between NS and NNS median frequency rates for the uses of past-tense verbs. Specifically, the median rates in the essays of Japanese and Korean speakers exceeded those of NSs more than two-fold, while the rates in the texts of Chinese, Vietnamese, and Indonesian speakers were approximately 60% higher than those in NS prose. The excerpts from student texts written to Prompt 2, "Grades," in (10) and (11), as well as (1), (2), (5), and (7) above, include substantial past-time narratives and accounts of experiences:

> (10) The first reason that explains that grades do not encourage learning is the people's situation. For example, I studied Accounting really hard. I used many ways to learn something from the subject, such as had a tutor help me, formed a study group, asked the teacher, and did my homework. One hour before the test, I got a phone call from my friend. She told me that my cousin had a car accident. I couldn't concentrate on doing my test. As a result from that situation, I got a bad grade. I learned something even though I didn't get a good grade. The grade can't be the measurement for how far people know or learn about the subject.
>
> The second reason is the ability or talent can't be measured by a grade. For example, the final grade in my brother's math class was average. He had a talent in math which could be seen in his work. Unfortunately, the teacher was not really fair to him, maybe just for some reason that my brother was late one time. At the end of the quarter, there was an advising session where all students came, and other people could tell that my brother got a bad grade. That's why I agree that grades do not encourage learning. (Indonesian)

The excerpt in (10) contains three example markers and recounts two past-time experiences, one a first-person and the other a third-person narrative. Two example markers flag beginnings of accounts, and the third (*such as*) highlights a listing of activities. Both past-time narratives are presented as evidence to support the student's thesis that grades do not encourage learning. In fact, of the 33 verbs in (10), only 11 are used in the present tense, and the remaining 22 are in the past.

On the other hand, in (11), a NS explains why grades do not encourage learning without relying on a past-time narrative, and the text in (11) includes no past tense verbs.

> (11) In my opinion, grades do not encourage learning. The reason is that when people receive an assignment grade, it tends to harm them. If a student is given a low or failing grade, it will often times produce an ill will toward the person giving the grade causing problems later. If a student is given a high grade, then he or she believes that their work is fine even if they miss a few key points needed to study later.

> I believe that an evaluation would be more helpful than grades. An evaluation would let a student know what areas to work on and which areas are alright. The evaluation would be less of an emotional strain between the teacher and student. If a person were given a bad evaluation, he or she would know that they are in need of help with their studies. Even if an evaluation is taken the wrong way, it tells the student what needs to be worked on rather than assigning a simple number to mark the percent of the material learned. (NS)

The text in (11) argues against grades based on specific points presented along the lines of *if..., then ...* constructions. Furthermore, while rejecting grades in courses, the excerpt discusses an alternative. Because personal narratives or accounts of past experiences were not employed in the NS text in (11), it appears to be more depersonalized and objective than the text in (10).

The issue of whether NNSs employ the past tense in contexts similarly to NSs has been discussed in earlier research on the meanings and functions of the past tense in discourse (DeCarrico, 1986; Guiora, 1983; Hinkel, 1997; McCarthy, 1991). The findings of several studies point to the complexity of past tense meanings and uses that can be highly conventionalized in formal academic prose. However, it appears that an additional factor in NNS uses of the past tense in academic texts may stem from the L2 writers' reliance on accounts of past-time personal experiences and narratives, which are often considered to be inappropriate in formal academic discourse (Johns, 1997; Jordan, 1997; Swales & Feak, 1994).

A related consideration in regard to the uses of personal examples and illustrative narratives is whether NNSs are actually taught how examples can be constructed in academic essays and what represents appropriate exemplification in formal prose. All NNS students whose essays were analyzed in this study had received years of writing instruction in U.S. high schools, colleges, and universities. As the data in Table 2 show, however, matriculated and proficient L2 learners, most of whom are enrolled at the junior level in four-year universities, do not seem to have rhetorical means of supporting their argumentation positions beyond accounts of personal experiences and examples. Furthermore, given the prevalence of exemplification in the almost 900 L2 academic essays in this study, it is apparent that NNS students are not even aware of the fact that their choice of argumentative support in writing competency exams is not very common in formal academic texts. Although such an observation would not be surprising in regard to students new to English-speaking academic settings (Hvitfeldt, 1992), it seems to be particularly discouraging when made about students who have completed their training in L2 writing and composition.

CONCLUSION

An analysis of a large corpus of NS and NNS academic essays (327,802 words) shows that academically advanced and proficient NNS students employ exemplification markers at rates more than twice those identified in the essays of

NSs. Furthermore, the comparisons of median rates for first person pronouns in NS and NNS essays also demonstrate that NNS texts contain significantly higher median rates of these referential features. These findings point to the fact that speakers of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Indonesian who have completed their training in ESL and writing courses rely on accounts of personal experiences and stories as a means of thesis support in formal essays significantly more frequently than NS students do. In addition, third person pronouns usually associated with generalized statements and accounts of third person experiences were found at significantly higher median rates in the formal writing of Chinese and Indonesian speakers than in those of NS students. In similar contexts, however, most NS examples included generalized subpoints as thesis support.

Another important finding of this study is that the essays of NNSs greatly relied on extended past-time narratives in constructing written academic discourse in English. In particular, the median frequency rates of past tense verbs in the texts written by speakers of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean were approximately two times higher than those in NS texts. The median rates of past tense uses in the essays of Vietnamese and Indonesians exceeded those of NSs by more than half. Earlier studies have established that NNSs often have difficulty with meanings and uses of the past tense in English and that they employ it in contexts where NSs do not. The prevalence of past tense uses in L2 personal narratives in academic texts clearly indicates that further research is needed to determine what specific contexts lead to NNS usage of the past tense in written discourse.

There is little doubt that content-free prompts common in in-class essays intended to gauge students' writing skills often require students to support their opinions based on their personal experiences. Although such prompts may tend to lend themselves to accounts of personal stories and narratives, the findings of this study show that NS students did not rely on personal narratives to provide evidence for their positions nearly to the extent that NNS students did. Therefore, ESL writing instruction may need to focus explicitly on the differences between personal narratives and generalizations from personal experiences, such as those identified in the essays of NS students without any college- or university-level training in writing and composition.

In many rhetorical traditions in addition to the Anglo-American, evidence and proof are expected to support the main point of a formal essay. However, what represents valid and reasonable means of supporting the essay topic or thesis differs substantially among rhetorical paradigms and academic genres. While in Anglo-American academic discourse in various disciplines, including humanities, personal examples are hardly ever used, writing and composition instruction for college and university students actively advocates employing personal examples and experiences as evidence and thesis support in argumentation essays.

In addition, in rhetorical and discourse traditions in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Indonesian, examples often serve the requisite purpose of providing evidence and proof for the validity of the essay's main topic and rhetorical support by means of subtopics and extensive exemplification. Thus, the pre-

dominance of past-time personal examples and narrated experiences may be an outcome of L1 to L2 transfer of discourse paradigms and construction when speakers of these languages use extensive exemplification in their academic essays in English.

An important issue arises, however, in regard to how evidence and proof are presented to learners in L2 writing and composition instruction that touts personal examples and narratives as evidence and thesis support in academic argumentation discourse. In light of the fact that self-exploration, self-discovery, and the writer's personal authority on the topic at hand are considered to be necessary and sufficient qualities to produce an academic essay, inner-directed and individually oriented thoughts (Bizzell, 1982; Swales, 1990) appear to have taken the place of proof and evidence commonly expected in academic discourse. Thus, given the similarity between the types of appropriate evidence and rhetorical proof in many non-Anglo-American discourse traditions and process-centered teaching of L2 writing, it seems clear that NNSs' L1-based approaches to composing formal essays in English can only be compounded by self-oriented writing instruction. In fact, it may be that speakers of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Indonesian need little instruction in how to include personal examples in their academic essays in English because, as the results of this study show, they already have the necessary skills.

Pedagogical Implications

Although the teaching of writing is often carried out in academic ESL programs and composition classes for NSs and NNSs alike, in general terms, college and university students spend comparatively little time in composition classes. Most of their tenure in academic institutions is devoted to studies in the disciplines, such as humanities, sciences, business, and the like.

In academic courses other than writing, students are seldom expected to provide personal experiences as evidence and thesis support, unless they are verifiably experts on the subject. In most academic assignments in the disciplines, students are expected to study and read and demonstrate in writing their knowledge of material external to their inner thoughts (Leki & Carson, 1997). To prepare students for the demands of courses in the disciplines, it is important that in addition to the assignments based on multiple drafts and revisions of out-of-class papers, L2 learners are taught how to prepare for prompt-based essay exams, similar to those discussed by Horowitz (1986b), Ferris and Hedgcock (1998), and Johns (1997). Essay exams often require such academic writing skills as summarizing, paraphrasing, and supporting the thesis by means of information found outside of one's personal experience. These skills can and should be developed in writing courses and tasks.

One of the most productive activities in developing students' academic argumentation skills is to ask students to identify and state their position on a topic, and then to assign an essay in which writers must argue for the opposing point of

view. In this way, when students are less personally involved with the subject matter, they are more open to the construct of objectivity and depersonalization in academic discourse.

Another assignment in academic argumentation and thesis support can focus on problem/solution rhetorical argumentation, as in (11) above (Swales & Feak, 1994). In this case, the goal is to work not so much with students' identifying solutions to problems as with outcomes of the writer's solutions. Students can be asked to present their solutions as if already actually implemented and then describe in detail a few specific situations that may transpire. To help students develop skills for constructing effective rhetorical support, the instructor may ask a series of questions specific to the topic and assign writing tasks that identify the solution's viability. For example: If course grading in universities is abolished, what designation should appear on a student's transcript (often necessary for employment)? When a student receives a failing grade on an assignment, the grade provides a clear indication that an improvement in his or her work is urgently required. If different instructors have different wording in their evaluations, some students may not understand the urgency of the situation. On the other hand, if instructors provide similarly worded evaluations, are these different from the grading system currently in place?

Most proponents of the process-based approach to teaching writing believe that a high-quality product of writing can be attained if students learn about the writing process and improve their own processes involved in writing beginning with inner explorations for ideas and examples. While there may be little doubt that it is interesting and important to learn about the writing process of experienced writers, thus far research has provided little evidence that the process of experienced writers can actually be productively taught to novices. Furthermore, few studies have been carried out to demonstrate whether the skills attained in learning the writing process can be transferred to writing academic prose in, for example, history, sociology, or economics.

It is essential that teachers of writing undertake to learn about the writing tasks and the types of papers that students are expected to produce after their ESL and composition training is completed. In fact, many such investigations were carried out in the 1980s (e.g., Horowitz, 1986a, b; Johns, 1981; Ostler, 1980), and much has been learned about the writing tasks expected of students in the disciplines. Because ESL and writing teachers' jobs are to provide their students knowledge and skills on which they can rely in their subsequent studies, it seems difficult to understand why teachers of writing would not set out to teach what their students need to know and need to be able to do.

NOTE

[1] According to Biber, et al. (1999), in published academic texts, the occurrences of first person plural pronouns *we/us* in such structures as when *we consider…* or *it is clear to us…* represents 3,000 per one million words (0.3%). Such uses of first person pronouns were also rare in student essays.

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The Effects of the Primarily Oral Function of American Lithuanian on American Lithuanian Writing

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One of the differences between full and reduced language varieties is the repertoire of their use (Dorian, 1981, 1994). In this paper I argue that the written discourse of American Lithuanian (AL), a language variety spoken in the United States, is different from and to some extent impoverished compared to the written discourse of Full Lithuanian (FL), a language variety used by its native speech community in the Republic of Lithuania. I suggest that this is a result of the primarily oral function of American Lithuanian in its speech community. The data used for the study consist of a 40,000-word corpus of written local news and oral interviews in FL and AL. The paper focuses on the structural composition of written and oral texts in American Lithuanian and Full Lithuanian and analyzes (a) information structure in terms of word order variation as part of cohesion and (b) referent accessibility and the grammatical form of the referent NP as part of coherence.

The present paper examines the effects of the primarily oral function of American Lithuanian on American Lithuanian writing. Any text, whether it is written or oral, has to be cohesive and coherent in order for us to be able to interpret it as a text (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) and therefore to exchange meaningful messages (Grice, 1975). On the basis of American Lithuanian data I argue that the reduction in linguistic activities performed by the immigrant language facilitates changes in the linguistic form. More specifically, certain linguistic options disappear as a result of the primarily oral function served by the language, and linguistic features characteristic of spoken language are found in the written texts. As a result, there is a mismatch between linguistic form and function, which results in written American Lithuanian texts that lack coherence and that differ somewhat from what one would expect in the full language variety.

DATA

For purposes of this study I examined two language varieties: Full Lithuanian (FL), a variety spoken natively by its speech community in Lithuania, and American Lithuanian (AL), a variety used by first- and second-generation Lithuanian immigrants in the United States.

American Lithuanian, as presently used by first-generation Lithuanian speakers (who emigrated to the US in the 1940s) and their children, is used for a restricted number of functions, a subset of the full range of sociolinguistic functions which these speakers of American Lithuanian, as members of American society,

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largely accomplish by using their native-like command of English. American Lithuanian is employed primarily in its spoken form in American Lithuanian homes and in American Lithuanian community activities, and involves limited topics related to this community. Full Lithuanian, on the other hand, is used in its written and spoken forms in a broad range of situations ranging from formal speeches to casual face-to-face interactions.

A corpus of 20,000 words of written data has been collected from two major Lithuanian newspapers: *Draugas* ('Friend'), which is published daily in Chicago by first-generation American Lithuanians and reaches approximately 8,000 immigrant Lithuanian homes all over the United States, and *Lietuvos Rytas* ('Lithuanian Morning'), a major Lithuanian daily published in the capital city of Vilnius and currently having the largest circulation of any newspaper in Lithuania. The written corpus was collected from newspapers printed in the late 1990s. For the present study, the register for reporting local news was chosen to control for any possible mismatch in topics or purposes, as would be the case with, for example, editorial pages or personal letters. Also, the editorial page in the American Lithuanian newspaper reprints articles from newspapers published in Lithuania and in that sense the paper has no distinct editorial page of its own. Local news, on the other hand, serves similar functions in both newspapers, that is, to inform readers about events of local significance, and therefore is most comparable. Most of the people writing for *Draugas* are first-generation American Lithuanians who emigrated to the United States in the 1940s, learned Lithuanian as their first language, and still use it as their primary language. They all received schooling in Lithuanian either in Lithuania or in the displaced persons camps in Europe before they came to the US. They therefore are considered fully proficient in Lithuanian by the American Lithuanian community.

The spoken register consists of a corpus of 20,000 words from interviews that I conducted with speakers of Full Lithuanian (FL) and second-generation American Lithuanians on similar topics of local news, events, and activities. The interviews with speakers of FL were recorded in the summer of 1998 in Vilnius. The interviews with speakers of American Lithuanian (AL) were recorded in St. Casimir's Lithuanian Saturday school in Los Angeles in the spring of 1998. Both FL and AL speakers were asked to talk about events and activities of local significance. The AL speakers interviewed were either teaching at the Lithuanian Saturday School, were responsible for American Lithuanian scouts activities or the American Lithuanian Saturday School library, or were part of the Lithuanian Saturday School parents' committee. They all placed a high value on speaking and teaching Lithuanian to their children. In other words, they were all involved in American Lithuanian community activities and used the Lithuanian language on a regular basis. These second-generation speakers were rated highly in their language abilities by other members of the American Lithuanian community and were considered to be proficient speakers of Lithuanian.

CONCEPTUAL HYPOTHESES

For purposes of my analysis I looked at spoken and written modes of communication, which ordinarily serve different functions and which are characterized by different linguistic features. The written local news register chosen for this study represents a more formal situation that assumes little or no shared context on the part of the reader and therefore favors greater elaboration and explicitness of form. The spoken register of the interviews presented in this paper, on the other hand, is less formal than the written news register; the interlocutors share a physical environment and a greater degree of shared background. Greater shared context permits interlocutors to rely more heavily on implicit messages and features of economy (cf. Finegan & Biber, 1994; Warren, 1993). With this in mind, I expected to find clear linguistic differences between writing and speaking in Full Lithuanian. Also, I expected to find changes in the written and spoken registers of American Lithuanian as compared to Full Lithuanian because of the differences in the degree of shared context in the two speech communities (with the smaller and more cohesive American Lithuanian community presuming a greater degree of shared knowledge) and in their access to different communicative situations, as outlined above.

ANALYSIS

For purposes of this paper I looked at the following linguistic features, which are important in creating text level structures at a discourse level:

(1) information structure in terms of word order variation

(2) referent accessibility

(3) the grammatical form of the referent NP

In what follows I examine how these features are used in speaking and writing and, more importantly, how they differ across the two language varieties, American Lithuanian (AL) and Full Lithuanian (FL).

Word Order Variation

Since Lithuanian is a pragmatic word order language, it uses word order variation to mark information structure on a sentence level (Thompson, 1978). In what follows I first look at word order variation in speaking and writing in Full Lithuanian and then compare the results with word order variation found in American Lithuanian.

Spoken and Written Full Lithuanian

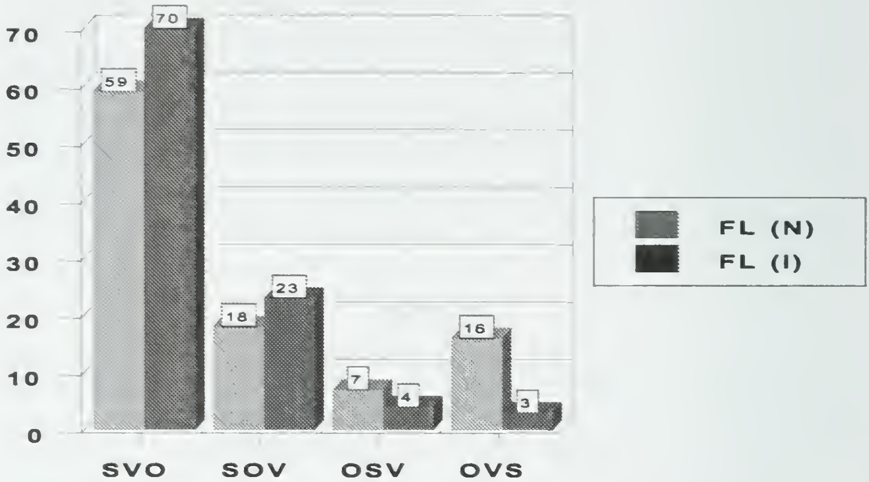
The results of word order distribution in written local news and spoken interviews in FL are given in Table 1 and graphically represented in Figure 1.

Table 1: Distribution of two-argument constructions across two registers in Full Lithuanian

	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS	Total
FL (N)	172 (59%)	51 (18%)	21 (7%)	46 (16%)	290
FL (I)	124 (70%)	42 (23%)	7 (4%)	5 (3%)	178

Note: FL(N) = Full Lithuanian written local news; FL(I) = Full Lithuanian spoken interviews. Taken from a 20,000-word corpus.

Figure 1



Distribution of two-argument constructions in spoken and written Full Lithuanian. FL(N) = Full Lithuanian written local news; FL(I) = Full Lithuanian spoken interviews.

The results show that in fact there are substantial differences in terms of word order variation across the two registers in Full Lithuanian. In general, the written register of local news, FL(N), shows a greater usage of different options in word order than the spoken register of interviews, FL(I). In FL(I) there is a considerable increase in canonical SVO structures as compared to local news articles, from 59% to 70%, and a general decrease in alternative word order structures, OSV and OVS, except for a 5% increase in object fronting constructions in the form of SOV.

Chafe (1980) suggests that spoken language consists of linguistic expressions that are focuses of consciousness. It differs dramatically from written language, which consists of complete grammatical sentences. Written language exhibits a greater degree of integration of grammatical material in the text as a result of the greater amount of time available in writing, whereas spoken language shows a lesser degree of such integration because of the faster pace of spoken language

(see Chafe, 1982, p. 45).

Word order variation serves the function of integrating grammatical material and facilitating cohesion within the text by connecting a sentence in the text to the previous and the following discourse. It is not surprising then that the written local news register shows a greater degree of word order variation and thus greater integration of grammatical material in the text than the spoken interviews. Different word order options other than canonical SVO structures, such as object fronting in the form of OSV and OVS, undergo a decrease in the spoken interview of FL. The increase of five percentage points in SOV structures in FL(I) is due to a higher degree of pronominalization in the spoken interviews. I will touch upon this issue briefly when discussing the grammatical form of referent NPs.

Let us look at two texts, one spoken and one written, in order to examine the above-mentioned differences.

Example 1: FL(N)

1. *[...] G. Verpatinsk-o firm-a gavo [...] akcijų.* SVO
G. Verpetinskas-GEN company-NOM:SG received shares:GEN:PL
'Verpatinskas company received some shares.'

2. *O jas dosnusis pusbrol-is [...] perleido V. Šimulienei.* OSV
and them:ACC:PL generous cousin-NOM:SG gave over to V. Šimuliene-DAT
'And the generous cousin gave them over to Šimuliene.'

3. *Dal-į akcij-ų neva perleid-ęs ir pats G. Krutulis* OVS
part-ACC:SG shares-GEN:PL supposedly gave over-PAST:PART and himself Krutulis
'Krutulis himself gave over part of the shares.'

4. *Tačiau teism-e jis tok-io fakt-o ne-prisimin-ė.* SOV
but court-LOC:SG he such fact-GEN:SG NEG-remember-PAST
'But in court he did not remember such a fact.'

Example 2: FL (I)

1. *... yra labai daug tokių visokių loterij-ų,* VS
are very many such various lotteries-GEN.PL
'...there are very many various lotteries like that'

2. *tai ten kokius nors jogurt-ų, tai renka led-ų popierėl-ius* VO
so DM some sort yogurt-GEN.PL or collect ice-cream-GEN.PL labels-ACC.PL
'so [they] collect some yogurt or ice-cream labels'

3. *nu, kai aš tik įsijungiu, tai,* SV
DM when I switch on then
'So/well when I switch [TV] on, then'

4. *jeigu dešimt atsiųs-ite* OV
if ten mail in-2PL.FUT
'if [you] mail in ten [labels]'

5. *jeigu ten nupaišys-ite ten pasak-ą,* VO
if DM draw-2PL.FUT DM fairytale-ACC.SG
'if [you] draw a fairytale'

6. *nu bet kai jis ten pradeda tą program-ą,* SVO
well but when he DM starts that program-ACC.SG
'well, but when he starts that program'

7. *tai televizij-a savo reklam-ą per tą [programą].* SO
so television-NOM.SG its advertising-ACC.SG on that [program]
'So television [runs] its advertising on that [program]'

8. *Kad visi ten kažk-ą tai turi, man atrodo.* SOV
But everybody-NOM.PL DM something-ACC has I think
'But everybody has something, I think.'

There are notable differences between Example 1 and Example 2. Example 2, from the spoken interview, relies more heavily on one-argument rather than two-argument structures. This shows a lesser degree of integration of grammatical material. The written text of FL in Example 1, on the other hand, shows a much greater degree of word order variation, and thus a greater degree of integration of grammatical material and a greater sense of cohesion in the text than in spoken FL. Apart from this, the spoken text is much more pronominal, whereas the written text relies more heavily on full NPs.

Spoken and Written Full Lithuanian and American Lithuanian

Now that the overall differences in word order variation across spoken and written registers have been addressed, let us compare word order variation in Full Lithuanian to spoken and written American Lithuanian.

As seen in Table 2, there are considerable differences between the two language varieties. In what follows I will focus on SVO constructions. The data show that in the written register of local news in FL, SVO word order occurred in 172 instances out of 290 (or 59%) and in the same local news register of AL, SVO was found in 230 instances out of 317 (or 72%). The total percentage of SVO sentences in written American Lithuanian shows an increase of 13 percentage points compared to written Full Lithuanian (from 59% to 72%). This increase is statistically significant ($p < .01$) and important in terms of alternative word order structures, such as SOV, OSV, or OVS[1]. As we have seen, the Full Lithuanian written data demonstrates the importance of different word order structures in creating textual level structures in the written register of local news. The written local news

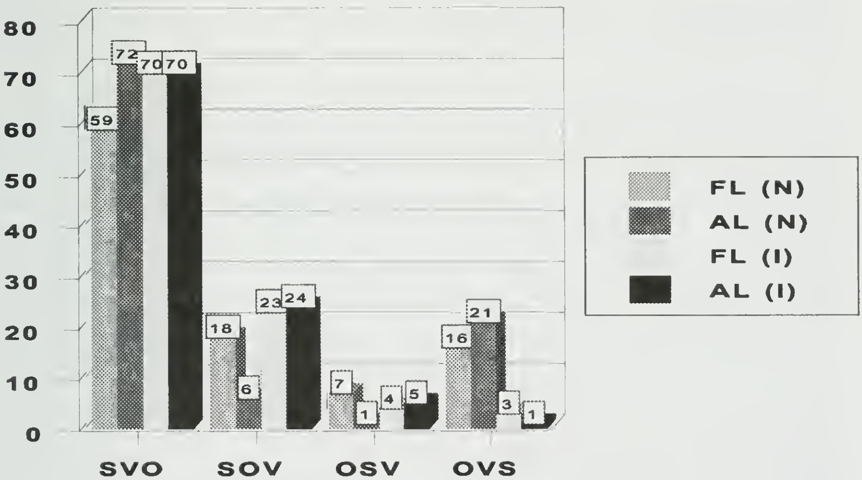
register of American Lithuanian, on the other hand, replaces this variation with a higher number of transparent SVO constructions (see Example 3).

Table 2: Distribution of two argument constructions across four registers

	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS	Total
FL (N)	172 (59%)	51 (18%)	21 (7%)	46 (16%)	290
AL (N)	230 (72%)	19 (6%)	3 (1%)	65 (21%)	317
FL (I)	124 (70%)	42 (23%)	7 (4%)	5 (3%)	178
AL (I)	131 (70%)	46 (24%)	9 (5%)	1 (1%)	187

Note: FL(N) = Full Lithuanian written local news; AL(N) = American Lithuanian written local news; FL(I) = Full Lithuanian spoken interviews; AL(I) = American Lithuanian spoken interviews. Taken from a 40,000-word corpus.

Figure 2



Distribution of two-argument constructions in written and spoken American and Full Lithuanian. FL(N) = Full Lithuanian written local news; FL(I) = Full Lithuanian spoken interviews; AL(N) = American Lithuanian written local news; AL(I) = American Lithuanian spoken interviews. Taken from a 40,000-word corpus.

Example 3; AL (N)

1. *Iškviečiami abiturient-ai,* *VS*
   invited-PASS graduates-NOM:PL
   'The graduates are invited,'

2. *kur-iems direktor-ė Doviliene įteikia atestat-us,* *SVO*
   whom-DAT:PL principal-NOM Doviliene presents diplomas-ACC:PL
   'to whom principal Doviliene presents with diplomas.'

3. *o tėvų komitet-as įteikia baigimo dovan-ą.* *SVO*
   and parents committee-NOM:SG presents graduation gift-ACC:SG
   'and the parents' committee presents a graduation gift.'

4. *Vydūno fondo atstov-ė Eidukiene įteikė* *SVO*
   Vydūnas foundation representative-NOM:SG Eidukienė presented

   kiekvienam abiturient-ui po knyg-ą.
   each graduate-DAT:SG a book-ACC:SG
   'The representative of Vydūnas foundation Eidukienė presented each graduate a book.'

5. *Abiturient-ai pasirašo baigim-o knyg-oje* *SV*
   graduates-NOM:PL sign graduation-GEN book-LOC:SG
   'The graduates sign the graduation book.'

A possible explanation for this difference in word order variation could be the superstratum language influence explanation (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988), which would argue that the higher number of SVO structures in the AL texts could be attributed to the influence of English on the Lithuanian spoken in the United States. English is a predominantly SVO language, and such an explanation seems very attractive and quite plausible. However, other alternative word order structures have been preserved in American Lithuanian (see object fronting in Table 2), and some of them have even undergone an increase in numbers compared to their use in Full Lithuanian (see subject focus constructions in written American Lithuanian in Table 2). For example:

Example 4: AL (N)
Mokykl-os simbolin-į rakt-ą Paulius Genčius *OSV*
school-GEN:SG symbolic-ACC:SG key-ACC:SG Paulius Genčius

ir Kovas Norvilas įteikia devintok-ams.
and Kovas Norvilas present ninth graders-DAT:PL
'Paulius Genčius and Kovas Norvilas present the ninth-graders with the symbolic school key.'

In Example (4) the object NP *the symbolic school key* is fronted and is used as part of the topic preceding the subject NP *Paulius Genčius and Povilas Norvilas*. As a result of the retention of object fronting in AL, the superstratum language influence explanation alone is doubtful. The inadequacy of superstratum interfer-

ence has been noted by other studies on language attrition, which also found the retention of word order variation (Dorian, 1981; Eckert, 1988; Weigel, 1999).

On the basis of my data I propose instead a functional explanation for the above-mentioned changes in word order variation, and argue that the primary vehicle for such structural changes is a narrowing of situations of language use, going from a full range of registers in the case of a full language variety to a very limited range of language activities which serve limited functions in the case of a reduced language variety. As a result, the written American Lithuanian text is much more SVO dominant and in this way resembles spoken registers.

SVO in Spoken Full Lithuanian and American Lithuanian

In contrast to the written texts, if we look at the spoken register we can see that there are no major differences in the use of SVO constructions in spoken FL and AL, which comprise 70% of the two-argument constructions in in both FL(I) and AL(I) (Table 2). An interesting observation can be made here with respect to register differences in written and spoken registers of Full Lithuanian. The numbers in Table 1 demonstrate that written local news uses a smaller number of SVO constructions as compared to interviews (59% and 70% respectively), and therefore shows a greater overall variation in word order. This fact suggests that greater word order variation is more characteristic of the written register and that word order plays a more important role in information structure in the written register than in the spoken register. This finding is not surprising because spoken registers do not allow for much planning time. As a result, on-line spoken production is more concerned with communicating the message rather than focusing on the overall cohesiveness and connectivity of the text.

However, it is striking that the local news register of American Lithuanian resembles the spoken registers of both AL and FL: 72% SVO constructions in AL(N) compared to 70% in the spoken register in both language varieties (Table 2). These numbers suggest that in the case of AL the features of the written register closely resemble those of the spoken register. The spoken interviews in fact do not rely so much on word order variation as does the written local news because of less planning time involved in on-line production and thus a lesser degree of integration of grammatical material in a spoken text. One could argue then that the similarity between the written and the spoken registers of American Lithuanian is not surprising since American Lithuanian is primarily used as a spoken language. However, use of the spoken style in the written language results in a lack of textual cohesion, which is ordinarily achieved in written FL by means of word order variation.

Referent Accessibility

As a second step in this analysis, I looked at referent accessibility in writing and speaking across both language varieties, AL and FL. I examined object fronting in the form of SOV, OSV, and OVS constructions. Each referent was coded for its

information status using Prince's (1981) taxonomy of Given-New information (the Assumed Familiarity Scale), which assumes that "a text is a set of instructions from a speaker to a hearer on how to construct a particular discourse model," a model which includes "discourse entities" or "discourse referents" (p. 235). Referents were coded as belonging to the following categories:

1) Brand New (BN): in which the hearer must create a new entity in their discourse model;
2) Textually evoked (TE): in which the entity was evoked based on an earlier mention in the text;
3) Situationally evoked (SE): in which the entity is evoked based on situational features such as the identities of the discourse participants;
4) Inferrable (I): in which the entity can logically or reasonably be inferred from previously evoked or inferred entitites (Prince, pp. 235-236).

For the purposes of my analysis I focus on the information status of the object NP, since for an object NP to appear in a preverbal position as part of the topic in all constructions under analysis (SOV, OSV, and OVS) it must meet these activation conditions: its referent NP has to be Evoked or Inferrable from the previous discourse, but it cannot be Brand New.

The data show that written Full Lithuanian topicalizes only those object NPs which meet the activation conditions stated above. The written news register of Full Lithuanian shows two instances of situationally evoked entities, but they appear only in quotations when the author of the article is quoting someone else. As a rule, these cases contain pronominal NPs which refer to other extratextual discourse participants, such as *we* or *you*. This fact supports the hypothesis that situationally evoked entities are characteristic of the spoken language. Both spoken FL and AL show instances of SE NPs (see Table 3 below):

Table 3: Object NPs in object fronting constructions coded for information status across four registers

Referential status of Object NP	FL (N)	AL (N)	FL (I)	AL (I)
Textually Evoked (TE)	80	39	28	31
Inferrable (I)	46	29	19	22
Situationally Evoked (SE)	2	19	2	2
Total	128	87	49	55

Note: FL(N) = Full Lithuanian written local news; AL(N) = American Lithuanian written news; FL(I) = Full Lithuanian spoken interviews; AL(I) = American Lithuanian spoken interviews. Taken from a 40,000-word corpus.

Interestingly, the written American Lithuanian data show that a high number of fronted object NPs (19 instances) are categorized as Situationally Evoked (SE), which means that the entity refers to the extra-textual context, for example:

Example 5: AL(N)

Skryd-į į Viln-ių (...) laimėjo naujieji Standard Federal bank savinink-ai. OVS
Flight-ACC:SG to Vilnius won new Standard Federal Bank owners-NOM:PL
'The new owners of Standard Federal Bank won the flight to Vilnius.'

Example 5 appears in an AL newspaper article describing a banquet in honor of "the Man of the Year," an American Lithuanian doctor, Rimgaudas Nemickas. The banquet was organized by the American Lithuanian community at the Lithuanian Museum of Culture in Chicago. The article reports on the major events within the principal event: the speeches, acknowledgment of the achievements of Nemickas, and introduction of the guests. However, prior to the sentence in Example 5 no lottery or drawing of tickets is mentioned in the article. Thus, there is no frame from which the object NP *Skryd-į į Viln-ių* 'a flight to Vilnius' could be inferrable. As a result, unless the reader was present or had other background information, the NP is Brand New on the familiarity scale.

Even in English translation the problem is apparent. Given the context it would be impossible in a similar news article in English to express Example (5) using a definite NP, *the flight*, as in "*the flight* to Vilnius was won by the new owners of Standard Federal Bank," since neither the flight nor the lottery from which the inference could be made has been mentioned previously in the text and therefore the NP cannot be topicalized. Thus, in such a context the only appropriate English expression would be "The new owners won *a flight* to Vilnius," where *a flight* is part of the focus construction.

As noted before and as shown in Table 3, such situationally evoked entities that occur in the written local news register of American Lithuanian are characteristic of the spoken language. Therefore, the oddities of the written AL text may also be explained as a mismatch between registers, in which the written news register of AL uses features characteristic of a spoken register, such as situational accessibility, which require a great deal of shared context to be interpreted. As a result of the use of such SE NPs in the written text, it is difficult for anyone who is not part of the "group" and does not have the necessary extra-textual information to trace the referent of such SE NPs. Such text becomes incoherent and confusing for an outside reader.

Grammatical Form of Expression

As the last part of the analysis I examined the grammatical form of the second mention of an NP, namely whether the referent is used in pronominal form or a full NP. Previous studies (Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1998; Chafe, 1992; Kroch & Hindle, 1982) have noted that registers differ with respect to the use of pronominal versus full NPs. These studies demonstrate that spoken registers rely more heavily on pronominal reference. By contrast, in the written registers, because of the lack of shared knowledge, writers tend to make references as explicit as possible by using full noun phrases as opposed to pronominal NPs.

In this part of the analysis I explore the grammatical form of Textually Evoked

NPs (i.e., the second mention of a referent in the text). The goal of this section is (a) to see whether there are any differences in the grammatical form (full versus pronominal noun phrase) of the second mention NPs across the spoken and written registers in Full Lithuanian, and (b) to examine how these two registers in Full Lithuanian compare to the same registers in American Lithuanian with respect to their use of pronominal versus full noun phrases.

Textually Evoked NPs in Object Fronting Constructions

In object fronting constructions (in the form of SOV and OSV) Textually Evoked (TE) NPs in the position of grammatical subject and object were coded as either full NPs or pronominal NPs. The numerical results for Textually Evoked subject NPs in object fronting constructions are given in Table 4. These results in percentages are represented graphically in Figure 3.

The results show that there are in fact significant differences with respect to the distribution of full versus pronominal NPs in the subject position in written local news and in spoken interviews in Full Lithuanian (75% full NPs in the written news register of FL versus 4% full NPs in the spoken interview register of FL). Clearly, spoken Full Lithuanian relies on pronominalization of second mention referring expressions (96% pronominal NPs), whereas written Full Lithuanian uses more full noun phrases (75% full NPs). Overall, the results are consistent with the observations made in other studies on register variation (cf. Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1998).

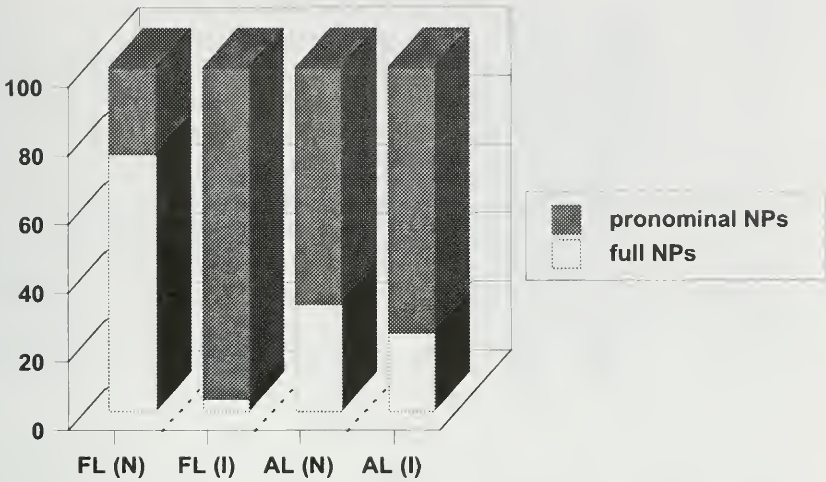
Interestingly, the two registers in the American Lithuanian data do not exhibit the same statistically significant differences in the distributional patterns found in the corpus of Full Lithuanian. In fact, the two registers in AL, spoken interviews and written news, are not significantly different in their use of pronominal versus full NP references. In this regard the two registers seem to be merging into one, more closely resembling the spoken register of Full Lithuanian. Both registers of AL use more pronominal NPs than full NPs (69% in AL[N] and 77% in AL[I]), which resemble the characteristics of the spoken register of Full Lithuanian.

Table 4: Textually evoked subject NPs in object fronting constructions across four registers: Full versus Pronominal NPs

	FL (N)	FL (I)	AL (N)	AL (I)
Full NPs	30 (75%)	1 (4%)	5 (31%)	9 (23%)
Pronominal NPs	10 (25%)	25 (96%)	11 (69%)	30 (77%)
Total	40 (100%)	26 (100%)	16 (100%)	39 (100%)

Note: FL(N) = Full Lithuanian written local news; AL(N) = American Lithuanian written news; FL(I) = Full Lithuanian spoken interviews; AL(I) = American Lithuanian spoken interviews. Taken from a 40,000-word corpus.

Figure 3



Textually Evoked subject NPs in object fronting constructions. FL(N) = Full Lithuanian written local news; FL(I) = Full Lithuanian spoken interviews; AL(N) = American Lithuanian written local news; AL(I) = American Lithuanian spoken interviews. Taken from a 40,000-word corpus.

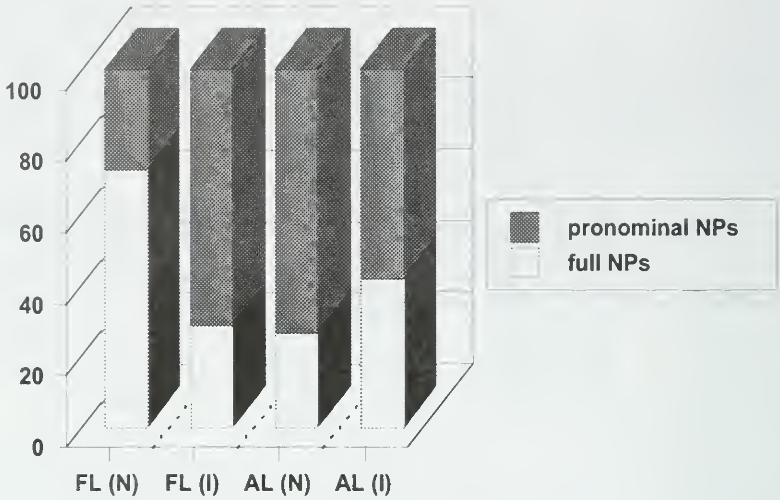
The distribution of the grammatical form (full or pronominal NP) chosen for subject NPs in object fronting constructions is similar to the patterns observed when object NPs were coded for their grammatical form in the same object fronting constructions. The results of the distribution of the grammatical form of object NPs in object fronting constructions are given in Table 5 and percentages are graphically represented in Figure 4:

Table 5: Textually evoked object NPs in object fronting constructions across four registers: Full versus Pronominal NPs

	FL (N)	FL (I)	AL (N)	AL (I)
Full NPs	30 (75%)	1 (4%)	5 (31%)	9 (23%)
Pronominal NPs	10 (25%)	25 (96%)	11 (69%)	30 (77%)
Total	40 (100%)	26 (100%)	16 (100%)	39 (100%)

Note: FL(N) = Full Lithuanian written local news; AL(N) = American Lithuanian written news; FL(I) = Full Lithuanian spoken interviews; AL(I) = American Lithuanian spoken interviews. Taken from a 40,000-word corpus.

Figure 4



Textually Evoked object NPs in object fronting constructions. FL(N) = Full Lithuanian written local news; FL(I) = Full Lithuanian spoken interviews; AL(N) = American Lithuanian written local news; AL(I) = American Lithuanian spoken interviews. Taken from a 40,000-word corpus.

Again, FL shows significant differences between the two registers, spoken and written, whereas spoken and written AL are not significantly different and more closely resemble spoken FL.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the data presented here demonstrate that American Lithuanian shows loss of the distributional differences of linguistic features that distinguish different registers. First, written AL does not show the same variation in word order which is characteristic of written Full Lithuanian. In fact, written AL is much more SVO dominant, which is characteristic of the spoken language. Second, written AL uses situationally evoked entities and positions them in the topic position. Such SE entities are characteristic of the spoken language, as demonstrated by data from FL. And finally, there is no significant difference in AL in the use of pronominal and full NPs across speaking and writing. In fact, both written and spoken AL rely more heavily on pronominalization, which is characteristic of spoken registers only. As a result, AL written texts are somewhat lacking in coherence from the perspective of a FL speaker since they do not exhibit the same linguistic features found in FL written texts. Since AL performs a primarily oral function, the features characteristic of spoken registers are transferred into the written language. The analysis presented here suggests that these changes are possibly due to the

shrinkage of situations that the language is used for. The results of the study are consistent with observations made by Dorian (1981), Eckert (1988), Hill (1981), and Maceviciute (2000) which stress the importance of social factors in explaining language attrition.

By applying the idea of language variation and by looking at linguistic form in relation to language use situations, the present paper systematically analyzes what has previously been loosely referred to as *functional deficiency* (Dorian, 1981; Sasse, 1992). Using a discourse model of analysis, this study has gone beyond the sentential level of analysis prevalent in studies of language attrition and has investigated functional deficiency in terms of concrete grammatical features contributing to discourse organization. If used in other studies, the qualitative method of text analysis developed in this study may provide additional insights into the differences in discourse organization of full and attrited languages.

APPENDIX

List of Abbreviations

NOM = nominative
GEN = genitive
ACC = accusative
DAT = dative
LOC = locative
PAST = past tense
DM = discourse marker
NEG = negation
SG = singular
PL = plural

NOTE

[1]I would like to thank Barbara Lohse for her help with the statistical modeling presented in this paper. Significance levels were computed with an S-PLUS function provided by Rand Wilcox which tests the hypothesis that two independent binominals have equal probability of success.

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Bridging the Gap between Research and Pedagogy: An Interview with Marianne Celce-Murcia[1]

Isaiah W. Yoo
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After a 30-year career as Professor of Applied Linguistics & TESL at the University of California, Los Angeles, Marianne Celce-Murcia plans to retire in June, 2002. Since joining the faculty in 1972, Professor Celce-Murcia has administered various TESOL related programs, including the UCLA ESL Service Courses program from January, 1975 to June, 1976, the Summer Program for Soviet Teachers of English in 1976, and the Fulbright Summer Program for Egyptian Teachers of English in 1987. She was awarded the UCLA Distinguished Teaching Award in 1976 and was selected for the Danforth Foundation's Associate Program (1977-83). She was acting chair of the department in 1992. In 1997, Heinle & Heinle Publishers presented her with their Lifetime Achievement Award. Professor Celce-Murcia has also taught outside the U.S. in Canada, Nigeria, and Egypt and has lectured and consulted in many other countries.

Professor Celce-Murica's main research interests are (a) empirical corpus-based studies of English syntax, discourse, and lexicon, (b) the application of findings in functional language analysis or applied linguistic theory to the preparation and testing of teaching materials, (c) developments in language analysis (functional syntax and discourse), and (d) the role of discourse and context in language teaching. Professor Celce-Murcia has published numerous books and articles in which she incorporates her research findings—and those of her students—into language pedagogy. Some of her notable publications include *Discourse and Context in Language Teaching* (2000), with Elite Olshtain; *The Grammar Book: An ESL/EFL Teacher's Course, Second Edition* (1999), with Diane Larsen-Freeman; *Teaching Pronunciation: A Reference for Teachers of English as a Second or Foreign Language* (1996), with Donna M. Brinton and Janet Goodwin; and *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language, Third Edition* (2001), a major anthology that she has edited. She has served in many professional organizations as an active member in various capacities, including member-at-large of the Executive Board of both TESOL and AAAL.

Isaiah*: I'd like to start out with some personal questions, if I may. Could you describe what your life was like when you were an undergraduate and a graduate student?*

Marianne: Sure. Things were easier when I was an undergraduate because I was

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supported by my father. I went to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, a state university. I majored in English and minored in German. Because my dad was paying all of my bills and I lived in the dorms where all of my meals were cooked, all I had to do for myself was go to the laundry every couple of weeks and wash a couple of things. So I was free to pursue my studies, and I was active in extracurricular affairs. I did a lot of things besides my coursework, and I think things came out pretty well because I graduated with honors and was president of Mortar Board, a kind of honor and service society, when I was a senior at Illinois. So I had a really good time as an undergraduate. But then as a graduate student, things changed. My father had three children, and he made it clear to us that he would support us through a B.A., all of us. But for anything beyond that, we were on our own. So when I came out here to UCLA to do graduate work, I had to support myself working as a TA and doing other jobs. A few times, I ran out of money and my father would loan me money and I eventually paid it all back. He was always kind of there as a backup but it really made me grow up when I was a graduate student. I had to support myself; I had to keep my little apartment clean; I had to do my cooking, laundry, and everything plus my schoolwork and my teaching. So I was really busy.

Isaiah*: You received a Ph.D. from the linguistics department here at UCLA in 1972. When you first came to UCLA to do your graduate studies, did you start as a linguistics student?*

Marianne: No, there wasn't even a linguistics department then. I came to UCLA in 1962, in September, right after my B.A. UCLA had a program in linguistics. First, I did the TESL certificate; then I did the M.A. in linguistics. But there was no linguistics department at the time. It was like an interdepartmental program with people like Bob Stockwell and Paul Schachter in the English department, Bill Bright and Harry Hoijer in Anthropology. And they were offering an M.A. and were starting to take students into a Ph.D. program. From 1962 to 1964, I did the TESL certificate and an M.A. in linguistics, but there was no M.A. program in TESL or applied linguistics then. When people did a TESL certificate and also wanted to do an M.A., they had three choices: linguistics, English, or education. Then after my M.A., I took a break from studies. I went to Nigeria for two years on a special contract to train English teachers and teach some ESL. Then I came back to UCLA in 1968, and by that time there was a linguistics department and Bob Stockwell was the chair. When I first came back to the States in 1966, I wasn't so sure whether I wanted to do the Ph.D., so I worked for a couple of years. And then I decided that I really wanted to do it. So I talked to Bob Stockwell, and he readmitted me. There wasn't even a formal admission process. When I received my M.A., I took a comprehensive exam and from the results of that exam, the faculty decided who could do the Ph.D. and who had to stop with a terminal M.A. And I was in the group that got invited to continue onto the Ph.D. if we wanted. So when

I came back several years later, I think they were still considering the results of my comprehensive exam to be valid.

Isaiah*: And how long did it take you to complete your Ph.D.?*

Marianne: About three and a half years from the start to finish. I filed at the end of winter quarter 1972.

Isaiah*: Was your dissertation mainly on syntax?*

Marianne: Yes, I looked at the comparative constructions and related degree constructions in English. I looked at the syntax and the semantics, and it had a psycholinguistic component. I was interested in markedness: Why people tend to say *John is taller than Mary*, rather than *Mary is shorter than John*. They can say that, but most of the time comparisons go in the positive direction, and that really interested me. So I read about markedness theory, and I looked at the acquisition of comparatives by L1 English-speaking children. I looked typologically at how languages compared to see the different structural possibilities that were there. And eventually I even discovered there were languages that don't even have an explicit structure for comparing. They have to have two clauses next to each other, like *John is little*, *Mary is little little*. And, by having that kind of juxtaposition, it means *Mary is littler than John*. Some American Indian languages and some languages in New Guinea operate like that, but most languages have some kind of construction: they have grammaticalized comparison. Once I had looked at English, I wanted to look at everything else, too.

Isaiah*: You mentioned earlier that you majored in English and minored in German in college. So how did you get involved with teaching ESL and applied linguistics?*

Marianne: I came here to do the TESL certificate right out of my B.A. because I was interested in English as a second language. I got tired of literature, and I started taking linguistics courses, and that's how I found out about ESL. I enjoyed reading literature for pleasure, but not analyzing it. I liked studying languages and learning about language. So I was lucky to have taken a few linguistics classes as an undergraduate. And when I looked at available graduate programs, I decided to come to UCLA because other programs were starting to go downhill at the time. And when I talked to people at Illinois who were ESL specialists, they told me that UCLA had an up-and-coming program and that I should go work with Cliff Prator.

Isaiah*: Did you have any personal experiences that led you to the ESL field?*

Marianne: Yeah, I think so. Like many other students in our program, I came from a bicultural, bilingual family. My parents were native speakers of German. They

immigrated to the U.S. around 1930, pre-World War II. They could speak English very well, but with a German accent. And then there was my grandmother, who came to live with us right after I was born. I had an older sister, so when I was born, it was getting to be a lot for my mother to take care of both of us. So they brought my grandmother from Germany. She was monolingual in German, and she was my primary caretaker until I was five years old. She passed away when I was five. My family switched over to English then, but I at least had that foundation. And I think this personal experience got me interested in language.

Isaiah: *When did you join the faculty of our department and what was our department like at the time?*

Marianne: That's also an interesting story. Just as I was finishing up my Ph.D. dissertation, John Oller, who was on the faculty of the ESL section in the English department, decided to go to the University of New Mexico. But he gave the department only one quarter's notice. So they asked me, "Can you be finished with your dissertation and file it by the end of winter quarter? If you can, we'll hire you for a year and a quarter on a temporary position, which then might become permanent." So I said, "Yeah, I can finish." Of course, I had to work really hard. I had to write like 20 hours a day for a while to finish. But I did, just barely. I filed one week, and the next week I had to come into the department and start teaching classes. And I even had to administer the ESLPE (English as a Second Language Placement Exam) because that was something that John Oller did. That was a really horrendous experience because I didn't know anything about assessment. So it was really initiation by fire when I came into the department. But I was lucky. The classes that John Oller had been assigned to teach were fortunately not assessment classes. In the spring quarter, he had to teach a pronunciation course for ESL teachers and also an advanced ESL course in pronunciation for nonnative speakers. So I felt comfortable handling those pronunciation classes. By the time the next year rolled around, they'd brought on Andrew Cohen to handle assessment. And they put me into the grammar position. But I still often had to teach the pronunciation course, because not everyone in the department had a degree in linguistics with the background in phonetics that comes with that. So I joined the faculty in the Spring of 1972, and then the Fall of 1972 was the beginning of my first complete academic year. That was when they then offered me the permanent appointment. The only one around who's been here longer than I have at this stage is Russ Campbell. I believe he was hired in 1964. In 1975, John Schumann and Diane Larsen-Freeman were hired. And I think in 1976 or 1977 Roger Andersen was hired. We had Andrew Cohen too, but he went to Israel, and then Diane went to Vermont. So people kind of came and went.

Isaiah: *Since you joined the faculty in 1972, our programs have gone through many changes. Could you briefly take me through the evolution of our department—that is to say, how our current M.A. and Ph.D. programs have emerged after going through various changes?*

Marianne: Yes, our programs went through many changes. As I said earlier, there wasn't even an M.A. in TESL when I was a graduate student. By the time I was a Ph.D. student, they had just started an M.A. in TESL in 1968 or 1969. And then it was another ten years or so before we had a Ph.D. program in applied linguistics. The interdepartmental Ph.D. program was established in 1978 or 1979. Several years ago, we broke away from English and got independent departmental status, and last year we made a formal break with the Linguistics Department for the Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics. Our Ph.D. program is still interdisciplinary, and we have given joint appointments to four professors in the Linguistics Department as well as to professors in other departments. It seems there is always some flux and change. That's what I've learned by being around all these years. Just don't expect things to stay the same, because they are going to change.

Isaiah: *I guess that's true for everything. Speaking of changes, there have been tremendous changes in the field of TESOL over the course of your career. Could you also briefly describe the evolution of the field?*

Marianne: Oh, golly. When I came to UCLA, the most popular method in the U.S. was the audiolingual method. But I was lucky that I came to UCLA because they were beginning to criticize that method. They were saying it's too manipulative. Clifford Prator published a famous article where he said we've got to move our learners from manipulation to communication. He was saying that in 1962 already. And his colleague Lois McIntosh, who was much more of a practitioner than a theoretician, was very strong on contexualization in language teaching, that you have to provide a good context and use lots of visual aids. If you gave her a grammar point, she could prepare an excellent lesson around it that would involve the students. She was a master at doing that. So I learned a lot from her about teaching, about the practical end of things. After the audiolingual method, then we had a spurt of what was called the cognitive approach, which was tied in with transformational grammar and cognitive psychology. They said that acquiring a language is acquiring rules, not forming habits. So they were trying to make that break with behaviorism, which the audiolingualism was based on. And then, the field turned to the communicative approach. It started over in England, and it came here very quickly. People like David Wilkins, Henry Widdowson, and Chris Candlin developed this approach, and I think they were influenced a lot by Halliday's approach to grammar. And then the American anthropologist Dell Hymes came along in the late 60's and early 70's with his model of communicative competence. So between what Dell Hymes was saying and what we were getting from the Brits, that really brought the communicative approach solidly to the U.S. And that's been

the developing paradigm for other teaching methods. A lot of things are compatible with the communicative approach since it allows for a wide range of teaching procedures and activities. Any aspect of language teaching—grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, and the four skills—implicitly or explicitly should be taught with a communicative approach.

Isaiah: *What do you see as the most important developments in TESOL?*

Marianne: I think the real important developments have been things like content-based language teaching, task-based language teaching, and I'd like to think that the discourse approach to language teaching that Olshtain and I have proposed is also a useful innovation. I think these are some of the important things that have come along because of the communicative approach. It created an environment for these different proposals to emerge. Project work is another example that is totally in line with the communicative approach. And what people call social constructivism, or a Vygotskian approach, is also fully compatible with the communicative approach to language learning. They've all been very interesting developments.

Isaiah: *Our ESL service program here at UCLA also must have gone through a lot of changes. Were those changes in line with the developments of the TESOL field that you just outlined?*

Marianne: Yes, just by adding courses and refining the materials, we had to evolve with the approaches that were being used at the time. The curriculum was pretty simple-minded when I first came to UCLA as a TA. So, of course, what we've done over the years has greatly expanded the curriculum. Things get added all the time when the need arises for something, like training the nonnative TAs. That became an issue, so we had to develop a course to respond to that issue.

Isaiah: *And now we have great lecturers—Donna (Brinton), Janet (Goodwin), Christine (Holten), and Linda (Jensen)—who are doing such a great job in running the ESL service program and the recently created undergraduate minor in TESL.*

Marianne: Right. That's why we have such a good program.

Isaiah: *Let's switch gears and talk about applied linguistics and functional grammar. Applied linguistics was largely viewed as merely serving the research needs of TESOL, and as a result, many scholars tried to, as it were, break with TESOL, creating the existent gap between the two fields. The unfortunate ramification is that some of the valuable research done in applied linguistics does not find its way into actual classroom teaching. Many people look up to you as someone who has*

been bridging this gap between the two fields. Do you think this is a fair characterization of you and your research and the relationship between the two fields?

Marianne: I think so. There is no reason to have a gap. That's always disturbed me. I've always said, "Look, I've got this wonderful Ph.D. in linguistics. Let me use it to train language teachers, because I'm someone who has always believed that a language teacher who knows about the grammatical system, who knows about the phonological system, and who knows something about how discourse operates—other things being equal—will be a better language teacher than a language teacher who is linguistically naïve." I mean, it's the same idea in other fields: How can you teach math if you don't know math yourself? You've got to know your subject matter. How can you teach the English language if you don't know English as declarative knowledge? There is much more to teaching than that, of course. Language teachers have to find ways to make the declarative knowledge procedural knowledge for their learners. That's the real challenge, isn't it? But I really think they are going to have a difficult time doing that if they don't have an understanding of their subject matter. So with books like *The Grammar Book* with Diane Larsen-Freeman and *Teaching Pronunciation* with Donna Brinton and Janet Goodwin, I've tried to bring that training and experience as a linguist into language pedagogy, to find a way to make it accessible to language teachers and show them how they can use and apply this kind of knowledge in order to be more effective in their classrooms. So yes, I'd agree with that characterization. I've really been trying very hard to do that all my professional life. This has always been one of my top priorities.

Isaiah*: Speaking of* The Grammar Book, *you've produced a lot of invaluable research findings and contributed so much to the fields of functional grammar and TESOL. And I would say that* The Grammar Book, *which is indeed regarded as* the *grammar book by most, if not all, ESL/EFL teachers, is the culmination of your research in functional grammar and your own experience as a language teacher. Could you tell me how you and Professor Larsen-Freeman, co-author of* The Grammar Book, *worked together to produce such a monumental work?*

Marianne: When Diane came to UCLA, I was already teaching the grammar course. And the certificate program got really big, so they divided the course up into two sections. I had one section, and Diane got the other section because she had a Ph.D. in linguistics from Michigan. She asked me what I was doing, and I said, "Frankly, Diane, I'm writing class notes because I cannot find a good textbook to use for what I think the teachers need to know. So I'm kind of developing my own sketch of English grammar, and we are going through things topic by topic. I don't like what's out there on the market. If you can find something out there, be my guest." There were only reference grammars. How could you use Quirk and Greenbaum's *Concise Grammar* to do a teacher prep course? It's just a traditional

descriptive grammar. So Diane wanted to start using my notes and to contribute to the notes, too. We did that for a couple of years, and then people in other universities heard about our work and said, "Can we see your notes?" And then Diane and I said, "Hey, wait a minute! Before we send our notes around to a lot of different people, maybe we should think about writing a book." And I think it took us between seven or eight years to go from the note writing to the publication of the book. Diane came to UCLA in 1975, and the first edition came out in 1983. At that time there were no word processors; everything had to be typed. It was really a struggle, Isaiah, to do all of that. I think if we had known what we were getting into when we decided to do the book, maybe we would've said, "Forget it." But we didn't. We were both young, starting out our careers and everything, and it seemed like a really good and necessary thing to do at the time. Later it took us almost as long to do the second edition because we were busy and doing a lot of other things, too. We had other projects that intervened, and that made the rewriting period take a lot longer than it should have. *The Grammar Book* became the focus for my own research and also for the research of my graduate students. The first M.A. thesis I supervised was by Nguyen Van So,[2] an M.A. student from Vietnam, who wanted to look at infinitives and gerunds. So right from the very beginning, I was attracting students who were interested in grammar. By 1975, I had a pretty good initial working model of my contextual analysis approach so that my students would get an idea of what they could be doing or should be doing if they took on a grammar project. So when we would hit a chapter in *The Grammar Book*, I'd say, "Darn, we just don't know enough about that topic." I would try to find a student who was bright and interested in grammar and say, "Hey, why don't you do your M.A.thesis on this?" So under my supervision, the student would do the work, and of course they would get their name in *The Grammar Book* that way, too.

Isaiah: *It doesn't surprise me at all that it took you and Professor Larsen-Freeman seven or eight years to write* The Grammar Book. *When you look at the book, it's just one volume. But then when you really study it, you get amazed by the tremendous number of research studies that are incorporated in it.*

Marianne: Of course, we tried to read and bring in things from other sources, too. When good things were published in journals that we had access to, we'd try to include those references as well. Books would come out on a particular topic, and we would try to have a look at them and everything. I'm still interested in grammar and the English language. That's never going to change, I guess.

Isaiah: *Do you think you'll be able to do another edition?*

Marianne: I don't know, Isaiah. I mean, this is like something that happens only every 15 to 20 years, so we'll see. But it's been really interesting. I've learned a lot doing it. It's been a real learning experience.

Isaiah*: Well, you started it, and someone else is going to keep on doing it.*

Marianne: I hope so.

Isaiah*: Can we talk about the pronunciation book (*Teaching Pronunciation: A Reference for Teachers of English as a Second or Foreign Language*) that you wrote with Donna (Brinton) and Janet (Goodwin), how it got started and what it was like to work with them?*

Marianne: Yeah, sure. We had the pronunciation course for the teacher prep in our TESL program, and again there was nothing useful to order as the textbook for the course. I would put together a reading packet and my own materials and so on, and Donna and Janet were doing the same when they were teaching the course. Then, at some point we decided to write a book. So, first I talked to publishers. I talked to Ellen Shaw at Cambridge University Press and asked, "Would you be interested in a book for teachers that would give a good solid, but non-technical, non-formal, outline of the English sound system but also embed a pedagogical approach with a lot of teaching suggestions running through it, so that by the time a teacher went from the beginning of the book to the end of the book, they would understand English pronunciation and how to teach it?" And she said, "Oh, that sounds terrific!" She bounced it off a few people at the New York office, and she told us to write up a proposal. So we did, and it was approved almost immediately. And then we had to write the book. It took us three or four years to finish the book. It wasn't quite as long as *The Grammar Book*. But it was fun working with Donna and Janet. They were really good to work with. So was Diane. All of my non-edited books have been coauthored. I did a little how-to-grammar-pedagogy book called *Techniques and Resources in Teaching Grammar* with Sharon Hilles, one of our former Ph.D. students, who's now a full professor at Cal Poly in Pomona. And then my recent book with Elite Olshtain (*Discourse and Context in Language Teaching*) is also coauthored, the discourse book where we try to move up to the global level and look at how we do everything. We were asking, "What's a unified way of looking at everything we do?"

Isaiah*: I remember taking your discourse class two years ago, and we used the manuscript in class at the time.*

Marianne: Yeah, that's right. So it seems that I've always been writing a book or revising a book or doing something like that.

Isaiah*: That's true. What are your thoughts about the future of applied linguistics and TESOL?*

Marianne: I'm hoping there will be a kind of coming together again. They are not going to become identical because applied linguistics is useful for lots of other areas. It's useful for teaching any language, not just English. It also has uses beyond language teaching, looking at institutional discourse, for instance. Just look at what some of our graduates do: One of our Ph.D.'s, Greg Orr, works for the U.S. State Department; Peter Coughlin is writing educational software; a fellow who got his Ph.D. years ago, Mike Gasser, does artificial intelligence at Indiana University; and Bob Jacobs is doing research on the brain. So our students aren't all becoming traditional applied linguists with a link to language teaching. I hope that this link will remain a strong one, though.

Isaiah*: Do you foresee any major challenges for the two fields?*

Marianne: Yeah, there are always challenges. For TESOL, I think there are some political worries. This "English Only" movement, on the one hand, is good for ESL teachers because everybody has to learn English, but people have to see that politically and socially this is probably not the best direction to go in, and thankfully the TESOL organization has been against that position. Their political arm has lobbied against that position. And in spite of this, laws have passed requiring the use of English only in some states and areas. I think TESOL has to become a little bit broader, so that it's not just about ESL or English. It has to be about the total language learning of the child or the adult—whoever the learner is—so that we all find it normal and desirable for people to be bilingual or multilingual. This is really important, and this is a real challenge. I like the Canadian terminology better than the American terminology: Teaching English as an Additional Language, TEAL. I think there is a whole different psychology behind that name or label. There is always the challenge of avoiding the notion that there is one best way to teach or learn a language, to get away from that kind of mentality and to be exploratory and creative, to find out what works well with kids in this kind of setting and what works well with immigrant adults in another type of setting, and to constantly be willing to experiment and try out new things and find out what works well with particular learners for particular purposes. That will be a constant challenge, because the learners are going to change a bit. They are not going to be the same learners that we were dealing with 50 years ago, and the ones we have down the road are going to be different from the ones we have today. And in applied linguistics, we should always be thinking about solving language problems in the real world. I think that's a kind of definition of applied linguistics, solving those problems that involve language in one way or another: language in education, language in everyday society, language in courtrooms, language in the political process, and so on. The applied linguists have to be there to work on these problems, and maybe the problems are going to change, but we're going to need people who can do the research and come up with solutions.

Isaiah*: Yes, so I guess that's where junior researchers and teachers like myself come in. Do you have some advice that you would like to give to us?*

Marianne: Oh, I would say when you go out and get a job after you finish your degree, take both your teaching and research seriously, and find out what your institution expects for tenure and try to surpass that expectation. And if you're not happy where you end up—sometimes people go to their first job and they think it's going to be great, but then for some reason it doesn't work out because of the institution or the people you're working with—don't get stuck. As soon as you realize things are bad, begin looking for something else. Don't stay in a bad place where you're miserable; it's going to poison you and your work. And work with good collaborators. That's been the story of my success. Work with really good collaborators. I find that approach much more fun and interesting, and you learn much more than when you try to work alone. And involve your students in your research agenda. It's really helpful. I think it's good for them, too. If you have a bright student who really has done a lot for you and with you on a research project, make that person a coauthor with you on an article, and mentor them into the research writing process. As a grad student in the Linguistics Department, I had good mentors: people like Vicki Fromkin, Sandy Thompson, and Peter Ladefoged. They were really great teachers and very good mentors, constantly encouraging students to publish and present at conferences. I always appreciated that. And be yourself! Don't try to be something that you can't be.

Isaiah*: Oh, I think that's most important. I've always wondered, Marianne, did you know you were going to be* the *Marianne Celce-Murcia that you are now when you were a starving graduate student like I am?*

Marianne: Oh, Isaiah, this question really bothers me. You flatter me because I honestly do not feel that there is anything particularly unusual or special about me. I've done what I've wanted to do. I've worked hard; I've had a good time. I've always been a high-energy, a high-achieving individual. In high school, I graduated fourth in a very large Chicago public school graduating class. And as an undergraduate, I graduated with honors, and I was president of Mortar Board. So I seem to have had a lot of energy to get things done. I just continued on that path with different objectives. I always knew I was going to be a teacher. Let me put it this way: I think when I was five years old, I already knew I was going to be a teacher. The question was, "What would I teach, and who would be my students?" Those were open questions at the time. If anyone asked me what I wanted to be, I didn't want to be a movie star or a firefighter; I wanted to be a teacher. So I've done that. And when people get overly impressed, I think that's ridiculous, because that's what I am. I am a teacher and a researcher. If people think I've done a good job, that's great. But I've done what I think is expected, especially at a university like UCLA.

Isaiah: *Did you also have your share of doubts and second thoughts about whether you had made the right choice in your life?*

Marianne: When I came back from Nigeria, from my two years of overseas teaching experience, it took me a couple of years to make the commitment to do the Ph.D. I had an interesting job. I was actually doing language research at System Development Corporation, then in Santa Monica. I was working with computational linguists, helping them with their knowledge of language. They were real great at writing computer programs, but they didn't have the background in language that I did. I was kind of like a research assistant there, and that was really nice. So I had to think about coming back because I knew it would be a great commitment of time and effort. But I'm really glad I did. When I first came to UCLA, I was just going to do an M.A., and it was the professors who said, "Don't stop with an M.A. You ought to do a Ph.D., Marianne." And I hadn't even thought of it. It hadn't even occurred to me. So it was professors like Clifford Prator and Paul Schachter, who talked me into doing a Ph.D. And then, when I was working on my Ph.D., did I ever imagine that I'd be given an appointment at UCLA? No! Never! I was very lucky. My job fell into my lap; I didn't even have to do a job search. So I know I've been really lucky when I see how some students have to struggle to get their first job. Often really good people are having a problem getting a good position out there in the real world, but I was tremendously lucky. So I hope I've done some good things with my good luck.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks to Professor Celce-Murcia, who graciously agreed to be interviewed. Many thanks also to Debra Friedman, co-editor of *IAL*, for assistance with earlier versions of this text.

NOTES

[1] This interview was conducted in Professor Celce-Murcia's office in October, 2001.
[2] Nguyen Van So was eventually able to immigrate to the U.S. with his family, and he is now teaching ESL at Orange Coast Community College in Orange County, California.

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Isaiah W. Yoo is a doctoral student in Applied Linguistics & TESL at UCLA. His main research interests are how the presence of the definite article affects the meanings of *last* and *next* and how definiteness is expressed in English and other languages such as Korean, Japanese, and Chinese. He completed a master's thesis and a doctoral qualifying paper under Professor Celce-Murcia's primary supervision.

Language Policy and Identity Politics in the United States by Ronald Schmidt, Sr. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000, 282 pp.

Reviewed by Aneta Pavlenko
Temple University

In his influential study on the rise and spread of nationalism, Anderson (1991) astutely noted that nations are "imagined communities" and that in modern times these communities are "conceived in language, not in blood" (p. 145). Indeed, the decision about which language or languages the nation should be conceived in, or, more often, whether there should be more than one language, can be a source of a heated conflict and public unrest. Ronald Schmidt's *Language Policy and Identity Politics in the United States* offers a comprehensive discussion of the language policy conflict in the United States, where in the past three decades language has emerged as a highly emotional and volatile political issue. The text has two main goals: to examine all sides of the U.S. language policy conflict and to offer an approach to language policy which could both meet the criteria of justice for language minority members and ensure the common good for the whole country. The author also has an additional aim: to demonstrate that the conflict over language "is not about language as such but about what kind of political community we are and wish to be" (p.183). From the perspective of applied linguistics, we can also add that this study focuses on the role of language in the construction of national identity.

The book opens with an introduction and is then divided into three sections. The introduction examines the premises of two conflicting approaches to U.S. language policy: linguistic assimilationism and linguistic pluralism. The ranks of assimilationists include the supporters of the English Only and anti-bilingual education movements, such as well-known writer Richard Rodriguez or California billionaire Ron Unz, who spearheaded California's anti-bilingual education bill, Proposition 227. Assimilationists seek policies that will ensure the status of English as the country's only official language. In contrast, pluralists, among them many prominent linguists, educators, and supporters of the English Plus movement, favor using the state to enhance the status and presence of minority languages.

The first section, entitled "The Issues and the Context," sets the background for the discussion and traces the evolution of the U.S. language policy debates over the last three decades. Chapter 1, "Language Policies in Conflict: An Overview," outlines three key areas of disagreement between assimilationists and pluralists: (1) educational policy for language minority children, (2) access to civil

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and political rights by non-English-speakers, and (3) the establishment of English as the sole official language of the United States and its political subdivisions. Chapter 2, "Making Sense of Language Policy Conflict," offers a theoretical framework for understanding the nature of language policy conflict and for evaluating claims made by the two sides in the debate. The chapter illuminates the fact that controversies over language are grounded in identity politics, as language policy can be used to facilitate or deny access to valued goods and services in the political economy or to allocate symbolic and material benefits differentially. The chapter also discusses four language policy approaches adopted in different states: domination/exclusion, assimilation, pluralism, and confederation. Domination/exclusion, an approach practiced by the British in their Asian and African colonies, and, more recently, by apartheid South Africa, prevents certain minority groups from learning the language of power and, therefore, from participating in the public domain. Assimilation, an approach assumed in a number of countries, including France, the United Kingdom, Pakistan, and the U.S., aims to eliminate linguistic controversy by encouraging all immigrants and linguistic minorities to shift toward the dominant language. Pluralism, adopted in Canada, Australia, or Nigeria, supports the use of more than one language within common territories of the state. Finally, confederation, an approach taken in Switzerland, Belgium, and India, is based on the assumption that true equality between languages and ethnolinguistic groups can be achieved only if each group can have their own territory in which their language can be dominant.

Chapter 3, "The Social Foundations of U.S. Language Politics," shifts the focus to the United States and describes the preconditions for political conflict in contemporary American society: language diversity, contact, and competition. The chapter also offers a brief discussion of issues of national identity and national unity, which makes clear that while all newcomers may become Americans, some Americans are perceived as (to paraphrase Orwell) more American than others, and thus become "more equal" than others. This discussion is particularly timely in the context of recent debates in the fields of applied linguistics and bilingualism on the nature of links between language and national identity (May, 2001; Pavlenko, 2001; Piller, 2001), as it offers a comprehensive view of sociopolitical and sociohistoric links between languages and identities conceived in different contexts at different points in time.

The second section, "The Arguments," offers an extremely clear and lucid analysis of the competing arguments offered by the two parties in the policy debate. Chapter 4, "Historical Perspectives on U.S. Identity Politics and Ethnolinguistic Inequality," examines two competing historical narratives of the origins of U.S. linguistic diversity. Linguistic assimilationists, in their attempts to understand present language policy problems, view the past exclusively through the lens of the myth of voluntary immigration as a search for freedom, pointing out that throughout history the only path to social mobility in the U.S. has been linguistic acculturation into English. In turn, linguistic pluralists emphasize that many

people of color did not originally become members of U.S. society through immigration and that they have experienced racial oppression throughout much of U.S. history. The oppressive efforts focused, in particular, on disparaging or eradicating the material and symbolic cultures of these groups, including their languages. Chapter 5, "Language Policy and Equality," compares another set of competing narratives: pluralists' and assimilationists' views on the relationship between language policy and social inequality. Pluralists believe that social inequality derives from unequal treatment of minority languages and cultures and argue for public acceptance and recognition of these languages in a wide range of public spaces, which include public schools, voting booths, and the workplace. In turn, assimilationists argue that bilingual education segregates rather than empowers learners, keeping them in subordinated positions, and that the only true path to greater social equality is offered through English immersion. Chapter 6, "Language Policy and National Unity," examines the pluralists' and assimilationists' arguments with regard to the relationship between language policy and national unity. The author demonstrates that the assimilationists' conception of U.S. society as monolingual leads them to view language policy as an instrument for making Americans out of recent immigrants and members of linguistic minorities. On the other hand, pluralists' conception of a multiethnic and multilingual United States leads them to argue that linguistic and cultural diversity may only strengthen the country, especially in a period of increasing gloabalization such as ours. This clear explanation of the strengths and weaknesses of the pluralists' and assimilationists' arguments is invaluable to all those engaged in language education and curriculum development, and in particular to ESL and bilingual education professionals. Schmidt's arguments raise awareness of ways in which class and race mediate the perception of bilingualism, making it a desirable—albeit not always necessary—attribute of upper- and middle-class children, who are required and encouraged to engage in foreign language learning, and an undesirable attribute of working class minority and immigrant children, who are discouraged from receiving any kind of bilingual education other than a transitional one.

Finally, the third section, "Critique and Reform," rather than taking sides, attempts to recast the debate and point it toward a productive new direction for language policy. Chapter 7, "Flaws at Every Turn," offers a comprehensive critique of alternatives offered by assimilationists and pluralists, as well as by those who suggest the possibility of a linguistic confederation. Subsequently, Chapter 8, "Pluralistic Integration," suggests an approach to U.S. language policy that appears most viable to the author at the present moment. Schmidt notes that while assimilationists ignore the fact that history has constituted the U.S. as a multilingual state, not only through immigration but also through conquest and annexation, pluralists must face the fact that, in the context of English hegemony, bilingual programs are not likely to result in both social equality and first language maintenance (an outcome which defeats one of the pluralists' primary goals). What is required, then, is a language policy that aims for universal bilingualism—sup-

porting the learning of English by non-English speakers while simultaneously aiming at fluency in two languages for all public school students. While many Americans intuitively support this view, Schmidt's book offers invaluable sociopolitical arguments that can strengthen the position of language educators who feel that bi- and multilingualism functions as the primary means to ensure intercultural communication in contemporary global society.

Deeply steeped in a tradition of reading books written by linguists for other linguists, I found a text written by a political scientist, with an in-depth understanding of linguistic phenomena, extremely refreshing. Throughout my graduate school years, I remember working through a myriad of linguistics texts which successfully managed to make the already complex content matter even more abstruse and obscure. In contrast, Schmidt manages to engage the reader and to elucidate and illustrate complex issues of language policy and planning with unmatched analytical precision. The comprehensiveness and depth of the analysis, the convincing and well-argued proposals, and, most importantly, the author's lucid writing style make the text appropriate for adoption not only in graduate but also in undergraduate classes. These classes could be in a variety of disciplines as *Language Policy and Identity Politics in the United States* addresses a very large audience of linguists, educators, policy makers, and scholars in history and ethnic and cultural studies. Placing the U.S. conflict over language in theoretical, comparative, historical, and social contexts, the author compellingly argues that what appears to be a language policy conflict is, in reality, a much larger debate that deals with the appropriate role of non-English languages and cultures in U.S. society, and thus concerns everyone. The discussion is thoroughly grounded in a number of literatures and demographic and census data and offers the most comprehensive and clear analysis of U.S. language policy to date. The importance of the book has already been recognized by the American Political Science Association, which awarded the author a "best book award" from the Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics. Now, this important text has to find its way to all those interested in language policy, language planning, language conflict, and language education.

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ated as "competent" by their mentors and future colleagues as they become licensed to practice medicine. Atkinson focuses on the ways in which doing rounds contributes to the particulars of sequential practice *à la* CA as it is situated within larger situational and rhetorical contexts. Each occasion of doing rounds is a sequentially organized activity that is simultaneously shown to be negotiated with reference to authority within the social structure of the encounter. This study examines how, in providing medical care, clinical decisions are made through presenting the particular details of the individual case. Atkinson's chapter is exemplary in demonstrating the ways in which ethnography, rhetoric, and CA provide key insight into the practices of members of the medical community, thus setting the tone not only for this section but for the whole volume.

In the remainder of the first section, Frederick Erickson's chapter, "Appropriation of voice and presentation of self as a fellow physician: Aspects of a discourse of apprenticeship in medicine," looks at the socializing function of case presentation between intern and mentor. Similarly, Cook-Gumperz and Messerman's chapter, "Local identities and institutional practices: Constructing the record of professional collaboration," examines the management of identity through organizational record-keeping as a face-to-face phenomenon. Finally, Aaron Cicourel, in his chapter entitled "The interaction of cognitive and cultural models in health care delivery," discusses the issues of medical expertise in relation to providing medical care in a teaching hospital. As is evident from these brief descriptions, the first section provides strong thematic coherence and insight into the kinds of arguments that variations in methodological choices make for analytic observation.

The second section, "Mediation, management and social care," is much broader than the first and lacks some of the internal cohesion provided by the thematic focus that medical discourse provides. The editors' section introduction, however, provides continuity by pointing out what the articles have in common: a focus on negotiated identities and roles as mediated action drawing heavily from the work of Erving Goffman. Without this introduction, the theoretical commonalities would be much less discernable. Two chapters are dedicated to social work and the negotiated identity between the designations *professional* versus *institutional* settings. Bredmar and Linell's chapter, "Reconfirming normality: The constitution of reassurance in talks between midwives and expectant mothers," deals with midwifery-client relations. Hall, Sarangi, and Slembrouck in their chapter, "The legitimation of the client and the profession: Identities and roles in social work discourse," offer reflections on the construction of role in the client and professional discourse of social workers.

Of particular interest is David Greatbatch and Robert Dingwall's chapter, "Professional neutralism in family mediation." Greatbatch and Dingwall discuss mediator *neutralism*, a stance taken by mediators when negotiating with clients in which mediators do not commit to particular points of view and attempt to curtail further discussion on certain topics. In contrast to the more recognizable term *neutrality*, neutralism refers to the interactional devices which the mediator engages

to remain actively impartial or at least be perceived as such by the disputants. Using CA as the analytic framework, Greatbach and Dingwall examine ways in which mediators enact and depart from neutralism within mediation settings. The authors conclude that neutralism is a discursive construct employed by mediators to reflect interactional caution during mediation sessions. As with other discursive resources, neutralism can be used as a strategic device to achieve some goal within the mediation itself. While neutralism is prominent in mediation work, the authors assert that this device is by no means unique to the mediation setting as it is routinely practiced in medical, legal, and other social service settings as well. A specific look at mediator practices, however, provides insight into the more general phenomenon of managing bias in highly sensitive settings.

The third and final section, "Methodological debates," focuses particularly on how methods shape studies in institutional settings. Contributors such as David Silverman, "Warriors or collaborators: Reworking methodological controversies in the study of institutional interaction," and John Gumperz, "On interactional sociolinguistic method," debate the relative merit of CA and interactional sociolinguistics as particularly important methods that contribute to workplace studies. Tony Hak's chapter, "'Text' and 'con-text': Talk bias in studies of health care work," clearly offers the most divergent perspective of the otherwise talk-in-interaction emphasis of this section and of the volume as a whole. Rejecting the overemphasis on recording and analyzing talk from workplace settings, Hak asserts a critical discursive perspective, calling on scholars of institutional discourse to recontextualize talk within the larger practices of the institutions themselves. Hak points to Sudnow's early ethnomethodological ethnography of dying in hospital settings, *Passing On* (1967), and Foucault's *Birth of the Clinic* (1973) as exemplars of his criticism. Similar to the position of the critical discourse analyst Michael Billig in the Schegloff-Billig debate on CA and Critical Discourse Analysis in *Discourse & Society* (1999, pp.543-582), Hak claims that any recording of talk is, necessarily, abstracted precisely because it is removed from the unseen features of discourse that serve to support and produce a particular instance of talk. The much-studied doctor-patient medical interview, for example, is not isolated simply because there are usually no other medical staff present. Rather, it is isolated because the interview is one stage along the whole process of going to the clinic, including interacting with administrative, nursing, and pharmaceutical staffs. By removing the interview from the larger context of the experience of going to the clinic, certain features of discourse are highlighted and emphasized while the larger context is obscured. While Hak's chapter is the most divergent both methodologically and analytically, editors Sarangi and Roberts included it in this volume presumably to give a full range of intellectual traditions that offer insight into workplace studies. After reading Hak's criticisms, it is easy to see that much of the work in talk-in-interaction, discourse analysis, and sociolinguistics rely on a fairly objectivist and realist epistemological stance. In this sense, Hak champions an interpretive and hermeneutic tradition that challenges the objectivist implications

of the other studies in this volume. In an interesting side note, Hak acknowledges the influence of Dorothy Smith's feminist sociology, *The Everyday World as Problematic* (1987), which asserts that workplace and institutional studies can remain part of the shift away from functional structuralism to a more critical and eclectic position within the social sciences. This sidenote helps to contextualize Hak's position within the volume as not only methodologically and theoretically challenging to the other pieces but also foreshadows the editors' concluding remarks about how scholars can actively engage in social change through their scholarship. In this respect, Hak's piece serves as the ideal transition between this section's focus on theoretical and methodological concerns and the final chapter's call-to-action.

In the last chapter, "Hybridity in gatekeeping discourse," the editors return to summarize the findings of the chapters as a whole and discuss the theoretical and research implications offered by the various contributions. Paying special attention to the practical and ethical impact researchers working in institutional discourse can have within workplace sites, Roberts and Sarangi advocate that scholars make institutional studies in discourse relevant to the professionals and institutions which they study. According to Roberts and Sarangi, the next phase that scholars of institutional and workplace studies must enter is the problem of application. That is, the editors encourage scholarship in workplace studies as a form of "engaged scholarship" wherein academic discourse is employed for social-structural change and improvement within the workplaces that are studied. This reflexive component of the volume challenges academic researchers to consider a wide range of ethical obligations to the environments in which they work by making empirical and theoretical work potentially understandable and, hopefully, applicable within the workplace. The strength of the conclusion contextualizes disparate points of view without simplifying the complexity of issues in combining methods and perspectives. Overall, this volume is, as its back cover suggests, an important collection for students and scholars alike interested in the developing field of workplace discourse.

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Srikant Sarangi & Celia Roberts (Eds.)
Reviewed by Chris J. Koenig